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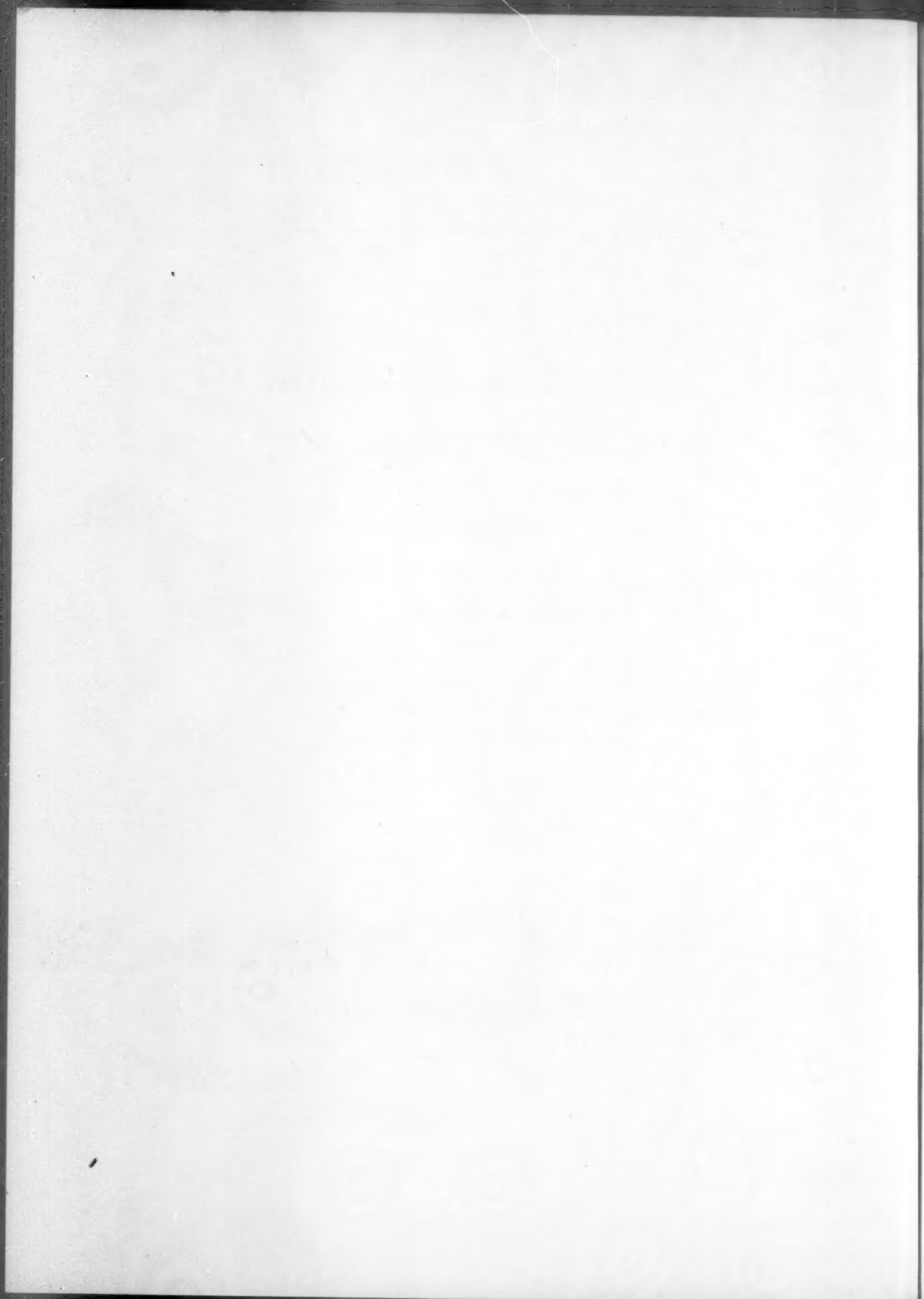
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THE ART BULLETIN

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FIG. 1—NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY: SELF-PORTRAIT BY ZULOAGA

Some Aspects of Ignacio Zuloaga

By A. PHILIP McMAHON

That most Spanish painter Ignacio Zuloaga is of a type rare among artists, the independent reactionary who, turning against both the security of the schools and the bewildering freedom of the moderns, yet realizes completely his own artistic aims and attains success judged by every measure which he himself can apply.¹ His reputation is international, but in America, particularly, public approval has been generously bestowed, and his works have found a place in prominent collections. The characteristics of his work are sufficiently obvious (although some of his qualities are not those which are commonly supposed to find a response in the aesthetic consciousness of the United States), and the receptivity of this country to Hispanic influences, an affinity for an especially exotic tradition, more profound than a mere vogue or fashion, is a circumstance that in itself makes Zuloaga deserving of study.

Not unexpectedly, perhaps, Zuloaga's latest exhibition in America, which opened with a month's stay at the Reinhardt Galleries in New York, provoked more enthusiasm on the part of the public than on that of the public's professed guides. The applause which was led in 1909 by James Huneker² and Christian Brinton³ continued in even greater volume in 1925, when 75,000 people visited the galleries at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street. To-day Henry McBride and Forbes Watson have ineffectively dissented; there seems to be in this Spaniard's art something deeply satisfying to the aesthetic craving of America. McBride, commenting in *The Dial* on the work of a rejected modern says: "Only a few doors west on the same street and thousands were crowding the Reinhardt Galleries to see the work of a vastly inferior man. I don't yearn especially for fashion's approval of any of my protégés, but it was impossible not to be somewhat dismayed by this travesty of patronage."⁴

Says Forbes Watson, writing in *The Sunday World*: "For the benefit of the future historian, it may be noted now that Mr. Zuloaga's success, though greater than it was in the days when he painted better, is almost entirely a popular success. In the ten days since his paintings were hung I have not heard a painter praise them." It cannot be denied that times have changed and the critics with them; perhaps the future historian will conclude that his is merely another case of violent reaction from too conspicuous a success.

The visible man Zuloaga has not changed greatly since his portrait was presented to the readers of *Figaro* over twenty years ago by Arsène Alexandre.⁵ The self-portrait in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America (Fig. 1), although less picturesque than some others, accurately illustrates Alexandre's analysis when he asks us to note the "expression of cool courage, of reasoned determination which gives his long but full face so rare an accent of initiative and success; note also the touch of malice which sharpens his

¹Ignacio Zuloaga y Zabaleta, born July 26, 1870, at Eibar, between San Sebastián and Bilbao, in the province of Viscaya.

²James Huneker, *Promenades of an Impressionist*, New York, 1910, p. 141.

³*Catalogue of Paintings by Ignacio Zuloaga, exhibited by the Hispanic Society of America. With an introduction*

by Christian Brinton, New York, 1909.

⁴Henry McBride, in *The Dial*, LXXVIII (April), 1925, p. 348.

⁵Arsène Alexandre, *Ignacio Zuloaga, in Five Essays on the Art of Ignacio Zuloaga*, New York, 1909, p. 33 (from *Figaro Illustré*, August, 1903).

serious glance." In the crowds of smart and fashionable folk that packed the Reinhardt Galleries Zuloaga was thoroughly assimilated; a lawyer who attended one of the dinners given in Zuloaga's honor even mistook him for a prominent banker.

Such success raises interesting questions. How has an independent, reactionary artist attained this position? Does it detract from his merits or is it consistent with them? The perspective of the moment hardly permits a final answer, but if an effort is required to disengage our minds from superficial impressions, it is at least helpful to realize that such impressions may be misleading.

While our critics have been revising their estimate of Zuloaga, we also have been re-valuing certain of our basic conceptions, that of progress, for example. The first exhibition in America of Zuloaga's work preceded by more than five years the end of the era that was sealed in the year 1914. Until then our chief hope and our confidence lay in the idea of progress, popular education supported by mechanical ingenuity; and in spite of the fact that Spain has never seriously entertained that notion, it was the fashion to appeal to the sympathies of an American audience by claiming that Spain shared in the world's progress. In the catalogue of that first exhibition it was asserted that: "Contrary to ignorant opinion the country is vigorous, progressive, and is making rapid strides politically, commercially, and artistically."⁶

Now that the doctrine of progress has ceased to dominate our thinking, we perceive that as a Spaniard Zuloaga failed to be inspired by the idea at any time. In Spain international ideas such as that of progress have never flourished.⁷ It is not that change is unknown in Spain, for change is a condition of life, but that modifications of the environment occur so gradually in the Spanish scene that they are barely perceptible, and one of Spain's charms to the studious observer is the apparent changelessness: here at any moment the fashions and moods of Europe a century or more ago are sure to be found alive.⁸ The Peninsula is always, indeed, a great museum of culture a hundred years out of date.

In 1522, for example, the erection of the Cathedral of Segovia was begun, and work continued until 1593, when it was finished. In 1589 the chapter summoned Juan de Herrera, architect of the Escorial, for the canons seem to have suspected that possibly they were not quite in style, but Herrera advised them to continue in accordance with the original plans. Thus a Gothic cathedral was conceived and carried through at a time when the rest of Europe had not only absorbed the motives of the Renaissance but had exhausted its first impulse.⁹

The attribution of international ideas to the Spaniards was Napoleon's most serious error. As Talleyrand notes, Europe learned from Spain that Napoleon could be conquered and how to conquer him.¹⁰ The country was impervious to the cosmopolitan tendencies of the eighteenth century, on which Napoleon so confidently depended, and years of passionate resistance to the invader only confirmed the nation in its inheritance of courage, self-sufficiency, and pride.¹¹ Zuloaga is a son of the people who cried "Death to liberty and the constitution!" when they had redeemed Ferdinand VII from captivity in France.¹²

⁶Catalogue, 1909, p. 14.

⁷Miguel de Unamuno, *Del Sentimiento Trágico de la Vida*, Madrid, 1912. This book reflects the attitude of one of Spain's leading intellectuals. Note particularly the concluding chapter, pp. 290ff.

⁸There are surprising similarities in the observations of travelers from the earliest times. See J. García Mercadal, *España Vista por los Extranjeros*, Madrid, I, 1917; II, 1919; III, 192(?).

⁹George Edmund Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, Edited by Georgiana Goddard King, New York, 1914, I, pp. 257ff. Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal* (Ars Una series), New York, 1913, p. 208.

¹⁰*Mémoires*, I, 389.

¹¹J. Holland Rose, *Nationality in Modern History*, New York, 1916, p. 56, *The Spanish National Rising*.

¹²Martin A. S. Hume, *Modern Spain*, New York, 1900, p. 192.

The mood of reaction characteristic of Zuloaga as a Spaniard is admirably revealed in a conversation reported by Dr. Christian Brinton: "My distaste," said Zuloaga, "for things modern includes of course painting, most of which impressionistic, pointillistic, cubistic, futuristic or whatever else you may choose to term it, seems to me feeble and neurasthenic. The primitives and the early Egyptians with their rigorous economy of line, form, and tone, afford me more pleasure than I derive from the work of my contemporaries. As to modern music it distresses me because of its complexity. I much prefer Palestrina and Bach, and in the way of literature, though once a great reader, I now scarcely open a book or glance at the newspaper."¹³

A world of difference lies, however, between tradition and unintelligent convention, and Zuloaga had not submitted to the convention prevailing in Spain when his art first drew the attention of the outside world. Keen critics, like Miguel de Unamuno, have recognized the essential tradition in Zuloaga but they have been compelled to meet the charge that his work is unpatriotic. This is because pictures such as the Hero of the Fiesta might lead to comment unfavorable to Spain from the outside world. Such criticism drew from Unamuno an extremely Spanish reply:

"We do not know whether or not the horrible scenes of national history that were in style thirty some years ago are patriotic. At least they were official works. Patriotic art. . . What is patriotic art? Spain is not an end in itself but a means to an end, a means to a finality which is humane and ideal, universal and eternal. It is not the object of history to bring us to a knowledge of Spain, but of Spain to bring us to a knowledge of history, of infinite and eternal humanity, even to God Himself. And there is nothing like art—true art, not propaganda—to bring us to a knowledge of our country."¹⁴

And for the earlier neglect, the adulation of spirits such as the poet Gregorio Martínez Sierra has been substituted:

"Thanks for the reverence you have won for us, for the veil of illusion that you have spread over our very poverty, which has fascinated even those who view us from afar; thanks for the outcries you have aroused, thanks for the beacons you have lighted, thanks for your passion and for your glory, which is ours also, for you are ours, and you are deeply rooted in our soil and in our affections."¹⁵

The interest felt by Americans in Zuloaga as in other *cosas de España* is in itself significant. Much of the credit goes, of course, to the intelligent and cultivated appreciation of the artist by his friend, Dr. Christian Brinton, to whose enthusiasm the timid reserve of critics of the type of C. H. Caffin succumbed, in spite of their innate preference for the domestic tranquillity of Vermeer, a survival of the genteel tradition.¹⁶ The technical triumphs of Velasquez had long been known in this country, yet when Zuloaga first appeared here established opinion must have been as ill prepared to cope with the living Spaniard's art as it was with that of El Greco.

But the interest of the public and of collectors was immediate. Examples are to-day to be found in the Metropolitan, Brooklyn, and Boston museums, and in the Fearing, Lydig, Peck, Phillips, Rosen, Straight, Kerrigan, and Fuller collections.

In other countries Spain as a source of inspiration has been no less potent but less

¹³Christian Brinton, *The Art of Ignacio Zuloaga*, in *American Magazine of Art*, VIII (Jan.), 1917, p. 87. See also M. Gil, *En el Estudio de Zuloaga*, in *Five Essays*, p. 108 (from *España y América*, Feb., 1909).

¹⁴*Ignacio Zuloaga* (Edition Estrella), Madrid, n. d., pp. 19-20.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁶C. H. Caffin, *Story of Spanish Painting*, New York, 1917, p. 38: "It may seem illogical to invite the reader to be interested in Spanish art and then discourage him by laying bare its weakness."

persistent. For the men of 1870 in France, Spain suggested not only method but matter too, and Spanish subjects were depicted with something of Spanish technique. The influence was initiated by Delacroix; in Courbet it was obvious; Daumier and Gavarni leaned heavily upon it. Cézanne, Monet, Renoir, Bazille either had a recognizably Spanish period or incorporated Spanish ideas into their whole work. Manet, most of all, took the road to Spain, followed afterwards by the Belgian Evenepoel, and without these guides we should never have had Sargent and Besnard as we know them. Meier-Graefe has truly said: "Zuloaga has retaliated a little by taking back to the land of Velasquez what the Frenchman learned from his great compatriot."¹⁷

By the time, however, that Zuloaga brought back this knowledge to Spain, with characteristic Spanish tardiness, the experimental stage of impressionism and allied methods had passed in France and in America. Chase was being abandoned by many of the younger generation in the quest of Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso. Zuloaga was, therefore, too late by far to profit by the earlier interest due to Manet and too exotic, too racial to stir those who at heart preferred Dutch interiors, so that his traditional, even reactionary, expression could not be expected to gain disciples. But he still won the esteem of the public and of collectors.

This situation can be accounted for on broader grounds than have heretofore been remarked. Down to our own day the dominant foreign exemplar in New England has with slight modification been Great Britain, but for color and romance the rest of the country, particularly Florida, the Southwest, and the Pacific Coast, has looked to Spain. Slight as are the architectural remains in those states that were once Spanish and Mexican territory, compared with the important monuments south of us, they yet exercise a far-reaching attraction.

The only dramatic contacts with foreign nations that we have had, wars which resulted in the acquisition of territory peopled by an alien race, have been with Mexico and Spain. The open-minded mood of victory was accompanied in both cases by the pleasing thrill of participating in a colorful and brilliant Latin culture.

There has also, one should remember, existed in the literary history of the United States a definite Hispanic tradition. The work of Irving, of Ticknor, of Prescott, and even of Longfellow will illustrate this. Nor should the labors of Hubert Howe Bancroft be overlooked, because of their great popularity.¹⁸

Added to these historical accidents is a still deeper reason. A recent writer, discussing architecture, has demonstrated the analogies between the cultural characteristics of the Roman Empire and of the United States; the mind of Rome, like that of the United States, was occupied with thoughts of mass and quantity, group control and statistics, caring at bottom very little about the individual.¹⁹ In Rome, also, Spain was looked to as a source of exotic color and sensual stimulation.²⁰ The invincible racial independence of Spain could always be depended upon to provide material that captures the imagination and delights the leisure of successful empires. Although Zuloaga may care little about the United States, whose cultural antecedents are so distant from his, the obviously alien but indelibly romantic types that he presents (cf. Figs. 2 and 3) have quite naturally enjoyed an unparalleled success with us.

¹⁷Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, New York, 1908, I, p. 258.

¹⁸My thanks to Mr. Archer M. Huntington for suggesting this.

¹⁹Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones*, New York,

1924.

²⁰Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, New York, 1920, p. 174: "The Romans went above all to Spain, and especially Gades—the modern Cadiz—for the dancing girls whom they esteemed so highly."



FIG. 2—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: GIPSY DANCE
BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 3—NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY: FAMILY OF A GIPSY BULLFIGHTER BY
ZULOAGA



FIG. 4—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: BASQUE PEASANT BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 5—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: CASTILIAN SHEPHERD BY ZULOAGA

First among the circumstantial chances that have determined the characteristics of Zuloaga's art is the fact that he is a Basque, coming from that primitive stock in the Pyrenees, which has apparently been there ever since the Flood.²¹ Self-reliance, a confident integrity, has been the basic quality of this sturdy people (Fig. 4), combined with a tenacious frugality, a keen realization of the value of metallic cash, whether *pesetas*, *ducados*, *escudos*, or other government mintage of coin that resists the teeth and makes a satisfying sound when flung down sharply on the counter.

In that ancient kingdom there were not noblemen and serfs but all were noblemen and the king himself was but the first among equals. Their much-prized *fueros* were lost in comparatively recent years, the last relics of mediaeval privilege in Europe to go down under bureaucracy and centralization.²² Their adherence to the Carlist faction in the civil wars of the last century, a too consistent faithfulness to the monarchy and to the Church, reduced them to the rank of mere subjects.

By inheritance, then, Zuloaga might be expected to withstand opposition and to assert his own independence, the right freely to elect the methods and the matters of bygone times if he chose. But in addition to this provincial privilege, there was in his own family a tradition of accomplishment in the venerable art of the armorer. His great-grandfather Blas served in that capacity to the Life Guards;²³ his grandfather Eusebio organized the Armería Real in Madrid, a collection of such rarity and value that if disposed of the proceeds would cover the cost of a whole year's campaign in Morocco. His father, Plácido Zuloaga, the friend of Carpeaux and Barye, studied in Paris and Dresden, and developed a profitable revival of damascene, adorning iron and steel with oriental designs in gold and silver, an art supposed to have been lost when the Moriscoes were expelled from the Peninsula.²⁴ This craft, to which Ignacio Zuloaga also served an apprenticeship, is of more significant import for his painting than has usually been realized.

Steel and wrought iron are hard and resistant; but steel will take a high polish; with patient, uncompromising skill wrought iron can be made into fluttering arabesques of amazing lightness and grace. Always there is a sharp, definite outline, and above all there is no room for happy accidents or impromptu effects. Everything must be completely planned in advance and carried through by a stubborn will, the result of which has this great merit—it is final, fixed, and as nearly permanent as any artifact can be.²⁵

However, he was not apprenticed to this craft until there had been numerous clashes between the self-willed parent and the equally stubborn son over the choice of a career. First it was commerce, then engineering, and finally architecture, with ironworking as a final choice, a compulsory choice, when the other careers had all been rejected. And even after Zuloaga had become a practiced painter, it is worthy of note that he followed other trades, also of necessity; such as those of the bullfighter, dealer in antiques, and bookkeeper for a mining company.

The young Zuloaga's personal preference was defiantly indicated when, at the age of fifteen, on a casual trip to Madrid with his father, he first visited the Prado. Having induced his father to buy the materials required, he undertook to copy one of El Greco's noble portraits, producing a picture which was not only interesting in itself but significant of his whole career. Zuloaga never had any systematic instruction or guidance, but on his

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 30ff.

²²See George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* (Everyman Edition), New York, 1913, pp. 336ff. See also L. Higin, *Spanish Life in Town and Country*, New York, 1902, p. 28.

²³He was a friend and contemporary of Goya.

²⁴The most notable monument of Plácido Zuloaga's craftsmanship is the tomb of the murdered General Prim in the Church of Nuestra Señora de Antocha in Madrid.

²⁵Note the combination of a wrought-iron stair with wind-blown scarf and sweeping draperies in the portrait of Mrs. F., Jr., *Catalogue*, 1909, p. 59.

own initiative he went directly to that artist who most vividly presents the reactionary intensity of Spain—and this at a time some years in advance of the vogue for El Greco.

The practical unanimity with which eminent artists have refused any credit to their masters should have a deterrent effect on anyone who thinks of giving instruction in the craft. Goya, for example, although a student under Luzán for six years in Zaragoza, and working at Madrid for four or five years under the close supervision of Mengs, announced that "My only masters have been Nature, Velasquez, and Rembrandt." And it is probable that he never saw a painting by Rembrandt.²⁶

In a general way, nature and the museums are the masters to whom Zuloaga is indebted. But it is helpful to note what artists he has known and whose art he must have considered. During the early nineties among the men he knew while he lived on the heights of Montmartre were Gauguin, Charles Morice, and Toulouse-Lautrec. His fellow-exhibitors when he made his debut in 1890 included Gauguin, Van Gogh, Signac, Toulouse-Lautrec, Vuillard, Emile Besnard, and Maurice Denis.²⁷ But the most that a critic searching for the influence of such contacts would be able to discover would be, possibly, something of the Japanese composition that so affected Toulouse-Lautrec in a few pictures like *Marthe Morineau in Spanish Costume*,²⁸ where the figure is about to disappear through the right side of the frame. However, a comparison of the various versions of the Dwarf Gregorio (Fig. 6) and of the *Ladies on a Balcony*²⁹ would indicate that such effects are due mainly to the isolation and repetition of favorite details. This period was the golden age of the poster and the special development of that pictorial form doubtless affected Zuloaga's preference for striking figures, vigorously drawn and placed as nearly as possible on a plane with the surface of the picture. During Auguste Rodin's latter years the sculptor was an intimate friend of Zuloaga and often accompanied him on automobile trips through Spain.

But in analyzing the work of modern painters there is often a strange discrepancy between the masters admired and studied by a painter and those whose influence appears in his work. Very little could be found, for example, to indicate the sincere admiration felt by Van Gogh, Cézanne, or Picasso for the work of certain older masters if these moderns had not left a record of their enthusiasms in words. Even the activities of a painter as collector hardly afford an indication in most cases of the influences actually present in his own work. In Zuloaga's collection at Zumaya there are pictures by men whose style is at the opposite pole from his,³⁰ and it would be interesting to study the collections of various celebrated artists of our own and other days from this point of view.

One may cite, in Zuloaga's instance, the list of the great names in Spanish painting and note aspects of those men whose thunder reverberates in his work. First, of course, is Velasquez. But it is the Velasquez of the early period, before the journey to Italy in 1629, and the hard modelling of *Los Borrachos* is readily recognized in Zuloaga's own

²⁶Valerian von Loga, *Francisco de Goya*, Berlin, 1921, p. 29.

²⁷*Exhibition of Paintings by Ignacio Zuloaga under the Auspices of Mrs. Philip M. Lydig. With a Foreword by John S. Sargent. Introduction, notes, and bibliography by Christian Brinton*, New York, 1916 (?) (shown in various cities, November, 1916-May, 1918), pp. 13-14.

²⁸*Catalogue*, 1909, p. 47.

²⁹Compare *At the Corrida*, No. 28 in the exhibition at the Reinhardt Galleries, January, 1925, with *Femmes au Balcon*, No. 10, of the exhibition at the Hispanic Society of America, 1909, shown on p. 35 of the 1909 catalogue. Compare also *Le Nain Gregorio* of the latter exhibition, entitled also *Castilla Vieja* in the *Estrella*

Edition, with *The Dwarf Gregorio*, No. 22 in the Reinhardt exhibition. In the latter version the austere figures at the right of the composition have been removed. It is worthy of remark that Zuloaga has changed the title of the same picture on various occasions, but retained the same title for various versions of the same theme.

³⁰A Gauguin, for example. Christian Brinton, in *American Magazine of Art*, VIII (Jan.), 1917, p. 93, reports the painter as saying, "Though caring more for the older art, I am by no means an enemy of all that is new. I greatly admire for instance the unquestioned sincerity and austere devotion to the absolute exhibited by such a man as Pablo Picasso."

pictures of the vintage.³¹ There are recollections of the great Velasquez portraits—the earlier ones of Philip IV, those of Moenippus and Pablillos de Valladolid—in the placing and lighting of many of his full-length figures, the portrait of the singer Buffalo, as an instance.³² The selection of dwarfs as subjects has the obvious sanction of Spain's greatest painter, but there are at the same time profound differences. In Velasquez there are no bullfighters and the light though usually filtered through the gloomy depths of the Alcázar is always sunlight, never the glare of the footlights.³³

Goya is the man, to be sure, from whom the bullfighters and the gypsies, the dancers and the witches come. Zuloaga's association with the natives of Triana and his personal knowledge of the descendants of Goya's picturesque types are so solid a source of information that this relation goes beyond literary or artistic indebtedness. But the mood and the example of Goya established a tradition that has been the norm of the century since his death, and it is in this tradition that Zuloaga shares just as did Worms, Fortuny, and Manet, as well as many lesser men. A true parallel, apart from choice of subject, can be drawn between Zuloaga and Frank Brangwyn.³⁴

There is a harking back even further in the history of Spanish art to Morales and Valdés Leal. The terrific allegories of death and destruction by Valdés Leal in the Hospital de la Caridad in Seville³⁵ are akin to Zuloaga's Cristo de la Sangre and his Flagellants, the latter to be seen in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America (Fig. 12). The lack of relation between figure and background seen in the realistic modelling of Zurbarán may be a precedent for a similar phenomenon in some of Zuloaga's work.³⁶ Far-fetched references might even be made to certain devices employed by Murillo and Ribera.

And it is a matter of fact that Zuloaga was one of the first to admire the art of El Greco, some of whose most interesting pictures he possessed even in his poverty-stricken student days.³⁷ With these and with photographs of the Cretan's masterpieces he carried on an active campaign of propaganda among his friends of Montmartre, but it was not until some years later that the books of Cossío and of Barrès appeared.³⁸ El Greco, however, was like the raven that nourished Elijah in that El Greco enabled Zuloaga to survive in an age with which he had no spiritual sympathy and sustained him in the struggle of proud independence and reaction. Probably the only technical effect was a justification for depicting figures ten heads tall, with limbs curved like a drawn bow, such as we see in *Pepillo el Matador*.

More profound in stimulating the mind and the hand of an artist to graphic expression even than the work of other artists may be the influence of places. The language of architecture in a land of definite and continuous traditions like Spain must mold his thoughts as irresistibly as the idiomatic and elliptic phrases of his native tongue.

By way of contrast, let us note how little Zuloaga has been affected by foreign scenes. First of all, there is Rome. Thither he had gone on his own resources when but eighteen years old, following a custom which Goya had observed as well as Fortuny and others. Perhaps like Velasquez his health succumbed to a Roman fever. At any rate,

³¹*Catalogue*, 1909, p. 39.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 27.

³³The portrait called Pablillos de Valladolid, is also designated variously as a Buffoon, an Actor, and a Rhetor, and although obviously representing a man declaiming, is illuminated with daylight.

³⁴Guy Pène du Bois, *The Come Back of Zuloaga*, in *Arts and Decoration*, VII, 2 (Dec., 1916), p. 62.

³⁵Reproduced in August L. Mayer, *Geschichte der*

Spanischen Malerei, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 356-357.

³⁶For example, the sharp silhouettes against a very low horizon, such as we see in *San Román* and *El Beato Luis Beltrán* by Zurbarán. Reproduced in August L. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 318 and p. 320.

³⁷Arsène Alexandre, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁸Manuel Cossío, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908. Maurice Barrès, *Greco ou le secret de Tolède*, Paris, 1912.

the Tempietto of Bramante in the courtyard of the Spanish Academy on the Janiculum provided as little inspiration as did the vaster monuments on the Vatican hill.

London, too, he visited after some hard times in Paris, looking up certain friends of his father, among them Oscar Browning. Zuloaga's portrait of this genial scholar is now in the possession of Cambridge University. During his stay in what Pío Baroja calls "*la ciudad de nieblas*," Zuloaga also did several other portraits. But his contacts there left no permanent stamp on his style.

Even Paris, where he took refuge after disappointment in Rome, affected him but little. Like Anglada, he has passed a part of every year in Paris since he attained his reputation, but the record of this appears, if at all, only in his portraits. Although the principles of modern art have radiated from Paris in these last years, affecting men as intrinsically Spanish as the Zubiaurres, Solana, and Vázquez Díaz, Zuloaga has not at any time been affected by the currents fashionable in Paris, nor is he now.

On his return to Spain from London, the problem of subsistence having temporarily been solved by the four or five commissions obtained there, he settled for a while in Seville. The Parisian exile and the London sojourn had been merely periods of homesick preparation, so that his eyes could absorb with unveiled freshness the brilliant spectacle of southern Spain. It was then that he began the series of provincial types and characters by which he is best known. In 1895 he exhibited the results of his Andalusian studies in Paris,³⁹ meeting with such slight encouragement that for a time he turned to other means of livelihood, as mentioned above, but he must already have been convinced of his true path by the individual style peculiar to himself which he saw grow beneath his hand at this time.

In Segovia, however, are to be found the atmosphere and the harmonious organization of the earth with the structures that emerge from it which of all Spain most attract Zuloaga. Of this grave and melancholy town he has made several effigies, two of which are shown in these pages, an earlier one almost in a monotone of greenish-gray with a few accents of color (Fig. 8), the other happier, more joyous, differing greatly from the rectangular method of the first, almost approaching the delicious color of Renoir, with its delicate strands of color laid on in parallel strokes, but retaining a high Spanish seriousness and solidity of construction with it all (Fig. 7).

The latter picture is an effective representation of the impression Segovia made on the Rev. Fr. M. Gil when he visited Zuloaga's studio there, and the picture was painted after this description was published.⁴⁰ He speaks of the city as "that Segovia, so picturesque, so solemnly beautiful, so grave, so placid, laden with history, overloaded with monuments, smiling in its sadness, grown old while around it life is renewed in an explosion of verdure that imprisons it as in a girdle of emeralds, severe and majestic; the city's beauty a little decayed and moth-eaten but possessing a dignified, meditative, tearful air like a titled nobleman fingering the parchment letters of ennoblement after fortune has fled."

"As long as strong places were necessary," remarks Havelock Ellis, "Segovia was prosperous, but when at length Spain became united, Segovia's part in its life was played. It remains to-day a city that is mainly Roman, Romanesque, and mediaeval. There is nothing in it of importance later than the sixteenth century, and the only great contribution which that century made was the cathedral."⁴¹ In this sleeping city Zuloaga finds a congenial location for his most characteristic work. As long as the weather permits he works in the Romanesque church of San Juan de los Caballeros, and then migrates to the Casa de los Canónigos. The church, disused for some hundreds of years, is also the

³⁹Under the auspices of Le Barc de Bouteville, rue Le Peletier.

⁴⁰M. Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴¹Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

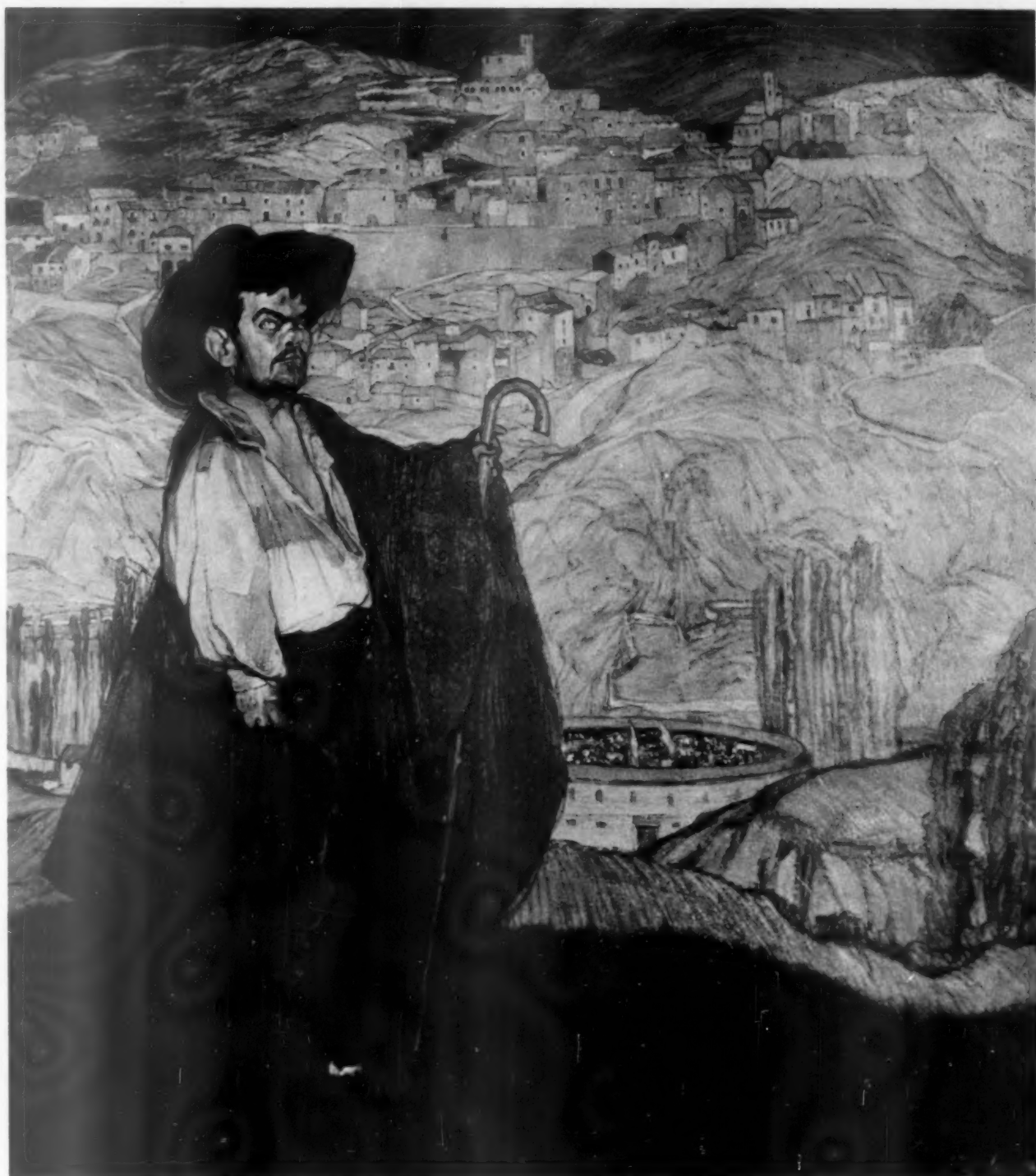


FIG. 6—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: THE DWARF GREGORIO BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 7—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: VIEW OF SEGOVIA BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 8—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925: VIEW OF SEGOVIA BY ZULOAGA

workshop of his uncle, Daniel Zuloaga, who has revived the ceramic craft in Segovia. His cousins whom he has so often painted (cf. Fig. 10) are the daughters of the uncle with whom he works, and the painting which first brought him fame was one of his Uncle Daniel's family, the original hanging in the Luxembourg, with another version of the same subject in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

The plastered walls of San Juan de los Caballeros concealed sculptured mediaeval tombs; in recovering them Zuloaga performed an act symbolic of his artistic creed.⁴² This church, abandoned since the time of Philip III, and the Canonjía, where the inquisitors once passed judgment on heretics, are romantic survivals that surround him as he works, and, more than the atmosphere of academic studio or museum, penetrate and determine his art.

Zuloaga's first picture was, as already mentioned, a copy of a portrait by El Greco. In Paris his first years constituted a period of indecision and hesitation; it was not until the exhibition of 1895 in Paris, when the results of his work in Seville were shown, that the painter had found his own way. He had, it is true, been represented in the Salon of 1890, and in 1893 he had been shown in the Salon du Champ de Mars, but without attracting attention. Even the portrait of himself in hunting costume exhibited at the Société Nationale in 1897 was not one of which he was afterwards proud. Hardly until 1899, with the picture of Daniel Zuloaga and his cousins, did he become known.

While his heart was thus attached to Spain, and to Segovia most of all, he developed yet another manner—certain easy tricks acquired perhaps in Paris—which appears even in those early portraits painted when money was so desperately needed. Some of his society portraits are, indeed, saved from fashionable mediocrity by a touch of all too veracious characterization mingled with the stylish stuffs and smart posturings of the subjects. In spite of the warnings of his friend J. S. Sargent he has persisted in turning out a certain quantity of these made-to-order portraits.⁴³ He may have consoled himself by recalling those sardonic portraits by Goya in which the painter avenged himself on his unabashed subjects, but a few instances in Zuloaga's work where there is an approach to undignified caricature afford inadequate solace for a painter who is capable of doing work such as all the world may see in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America.

Zuloaga has gone so far as to assert that: "I paint only that which I like, in the way I wish to paint it, and according to the dictates of my temperament. Essentially and exclusively Spanish in my sympathies, I love my country with passionate ardor and am unhappy anywhere and everywhere else."⁴⁴ That proclamation seems indeed to be true of his better productions but it cannot explain—in fact his statement makes it impossible to explain—how he could have painted and shown some of the work that was exhibited on his last visit to America.⁴⁵

His portraits are not, however, the basis of his compatriots' early opposition, and the reluctance of his fellow-countrymen to accept the art of Zuloaga is an interesting phenomenon. The most signal instance of this hostility, experienced from the official and academic set, occurred in 1900. For the great Paris exposition of that year Zuloaga offered to the Spanish section his large canvas *Antes de la Corrida*, which represents the visit that every true devotee of the bullring makes to the village of Alcalá de Guadaira in the outskirts of Seville, to enjoy a preview of the splendid beasts that are to be at once the heroes and the victims of the morrow's celebration.

⁴²M. Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

⁴³Constance L. Sangree, *Ignacio Zuloaga his own Architect*, in *New York Times Magazine*, July 1, 1923, p. 4.

⁴⁴Christian Brinton, in *American Magazine of*

Art, p. 93.

⁴⁵An important exception must be made, however, in the case of Zuloaga's portrait of Miss Margaret Kahn, one of the most successful that he has ever painted (Fig. 9).

A worthy canvas this is, as its subsequent history has proven, but the clique that composed the Spanish jury refused it on the score that it was too large, although room was found for conventional mediocrities of much greater dimensions. This picture had already received a gold medal at Antwerp and had been acquired for the Museum of Santiago Rusiñol, "Cau Ferrat," at Sitges. When the jury's decision was announced it was too late for Zuloaga to substitute anything smaller, and at the same time he had to wait until the exposition closed to regain possession of the picture for its return to Barcelona. In the meanwhile the Modern Gallery of Brussels made a very flattering offer for the painting, which Sr. Rusiñol graciously made over to the artist, and he himself accepted a substitute.

Enthusiasm in wrecking established reputations or in placing obstacles in the way of success unaided by political or social influence operates in Spain to an extent inconceivable by American artists and critics. In Zuloaga's case it must be remembered that, in addition to the difficulties against which every Spaniard has to struggle, the times when he attained his artistic growth were particularly grievous. It was soon after the disasters of 1898, when the last remnants of a vast colonial empire were lost and the country's ruin seemed complete. To publish such aspects of Spanish life and character as were to be seen in some of the bullfight pictures and scenes from the dregs of society—pictures of an unqualified realism and carrying a guarantee of their authenticity on every inch of surface—seemed disgraceful and embarrassing to many Spaniards, if not actually treasonable.⁴⁶ The fact that Zuloaga's reputation was made abroad did not help his case in Spain. With the exception of commercially aggressive and prosperous Barcelona, Spaniards have had few opportunities of seeing any of Zuloaga's pictures except when reproduced in magazines. And even if they viewed his pictures, how could they afford to buy?

But the gypsies, the peasants, the dwarfs, and the bullfighters know what the painter is about (cf. Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6). In the town of Zumaya he is almost a feudal lord, the leading citizen of the village. His close friendship with Belmonte (Fig. 11), the matador who has faced death in the ring more than three thousand times, the most daring *torero* alive according to his admirers, is alone enough to make him a popular hero.⁴⁷ Those who care nothing for the technique of painting and still less for juries and academies admire his work, not unimpressed perhaps that a single picture by Zuloaga brings more than the lifelong toil of a whole family of laborers in the fields.

Since the decline of Murillo's popularity, the names of Goya and Velasquez are those which popularly signify Spanish painting. Apart from the dwarfs, Zuloaga's connection with Velasquez is not so obvious, because Velasquez did not depict bullfighters, while Goya did, so that Zuloaga's name is more often coupled with that of Goya than with any other. However, as Arsène Alexandre points out, the differences are more important than

⁴⁶That this attitude persists among some of the intellectuals is shown in an article written by José Francés, the eminent critic of Madrid, for *La Revista de Bellas Artes*, Havana, July-September, 1918, p. 136:

"¿Cuál es la primera impresión que nos surge el arte de Ignacio Zuloaga? Para resumirla diríamos que nos deja sabor de sangre en la boca y estrujamientos de dolor en el corazón, y rosadas calideces de vergüenza en la piel. . . .

"Ahondando en todos los serios problemas del empobrecimiento nacional, encontramos siempre la lepra taurina. Las corridas de toros son las culpables de todas nuestras derrotas materiales y espirituales. No es la sangre de caballos, toros y toreros—que esto, al fin y al cabo, poco importaría—lo que nos preocupa; es la desviación torpe y suicida de nuestras energías, el envilecimiento de las costumbres; son los afrentosos contrastes de los toreros

millonarios y de los escritores y artistas que mueren de tuberculosis o arrastran una vejez misérrima, acosados de todas las penalidades; es la emigración de los hombres de ciencia y de los hombres del agro; es la flamenquería y el matonismo apoderándose de las antiguas cualidades de valor y caballerosidad; es la desgracia moral—de donde surgen la lujuria, la insensibilidad—que imponemos a nuestras mujeres, a nuestras hermanas, a nuestras hijas, sentándolas en las gradas de piedra de un circo taurino; es la villana y antipatriótica afrenta de nuestra bandera, colocada en el mastil de las plazas de toros."

⁴⁷See Christian Brinton, *Juan Belmonte, Greatest of Matadors*, in *Vanity Fair*, April, 1925, p. 49. Bruce Gould, *Juan Belmonte, King of Bullring, Speaks Out*, in *The New York Times Magazine*, March 15, 1925, p. 7.



FIG. 9—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES,
NEW YORK, 1925: PORTRAIT OF MISS MARGARET
KAHN BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 10—NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY:
MY COUSIN CÁNDIDA BY ZULOAGA

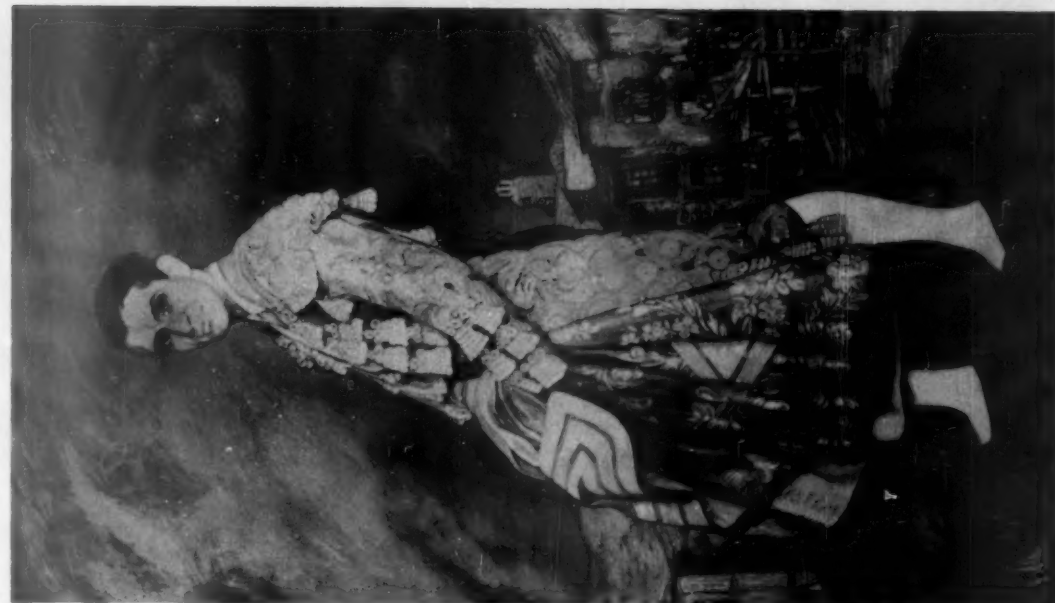


FIG. 11—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES,
NEW YORK, 1925: BELMONTE IN SILVER BY ZULOAGA

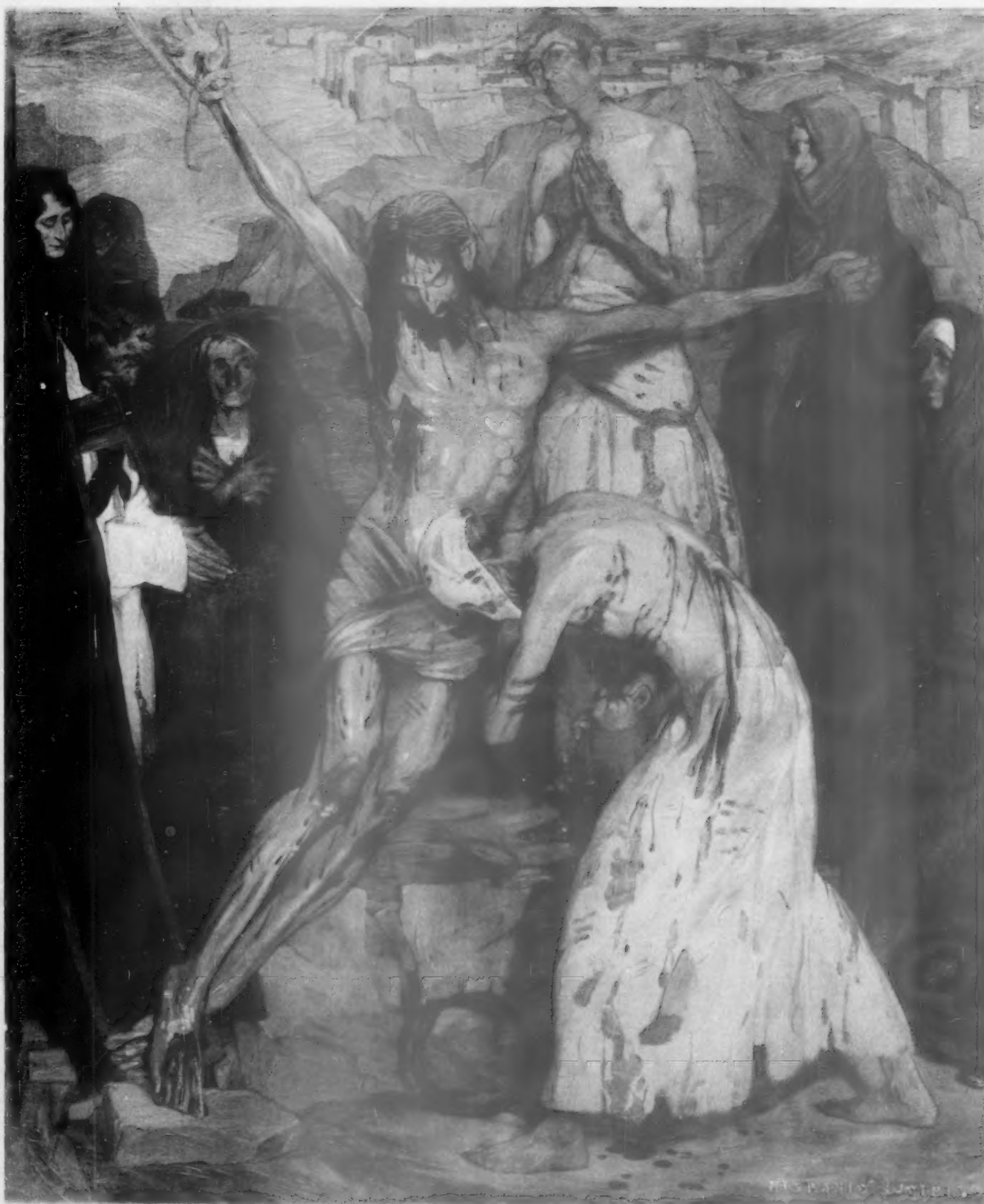


FIG. 12—NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY: THE FLAGELLANTS BY ZULOAGA

the similarities.⁴⁸ Many of Goya's works are practically black and white, grisaille heightened with washes of color, while Zuloaga's work is directly painted, enforced with powerfully defined hues. The modern master composes deliberately, leaving nothing to chance, his style is broad yet restrained within predetermined limits; but Goya, even in oil painting, had all the spontaneous fluency of a water-colorist. The temperaments of the two men are also opposed: all Goya's subjects, if he was the least interested in them, reflected his own irrepressible excitement,⁴⁹ but Zuloaga, having fully comprehended what he is about to paint, renders his subject with detachment, the calm of conscious mastery. While Goya, then, established the tradition by which the bull ring and the dance hall have for us provided the typical Spanish subjects, Zuloaga's predecessors, in his treatment of these subjects, because of his directness, sincerity, and obvious intention, are rather such men as Zurbarán, Carreño, and Mazo, the last perhaps most of all.

Alongside Don Quixote went the burlesque Sancho Panza, and, as has so often been pointed out, these figures depict two sides of the Spanish character. In Spanish literature beside the mystic works of Santa Teresa and San Juan de Dios we find *Celestina* and *Lazarillo de Tormes*. There is thus abundant justification for depicting both picaresque themes and fervid religious feeling. In Zuloaga's painting, in contrast to such pictures as the *Calle de Amor*, his frankly sensual nudes, and a long line of dwarfs and other low types, we find such apparently inconsistent canvases as his *Cristo de la Sangre*, and *El Cardenal*, as well as *Los Flagelantes* (Fig. 12). The last-named, in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, exhibits that side of Zuloaga's mind and art which is equally significant with the others, but is far more difficult for Americans to apprehend with sympathy.

An interesting commentary on this picture has been written by the Rev. Fr. M. Gil.⁵⁰ Similar scenes have been discussed by Darío de Regoyos in his account of the journey which he and Verhaeren made through Spain.⁵¹ A whole book in this vein has been written by J. Gutiérrez-Solana, himself a painter, presenting this side of Spanish life, one so alien to the outside observer, but of such tremendous significance in the opinion of the Spaniards themselves.

"One of his pictures," writes Father Gil, "is entitled 'Los Flagelantes.' In certain towns in the neighborhood of Rioja and Segovia there is an old custom or ceremony observed in Holy Week, during which devout and fervent men scourge themselves in turn in bloody style, while the Descent from the Cross is realistically represented in the open air. When the body of Christ has been detached from the cross it is slowly lowered by means of ropes, and in the meanwhile one of the flagellants kneels at the foot of the cross, his face concealed with a handkerchief, the upper part of his body bared, and in his hand cruel scourges. He waits for the sacred sculpture to touch his head. This is the agreed signal for the flagellant to begin the unmerciful discipline, whose heavy blows on his naked body resound in the midst of a religious silence, while the priest and pious people contemplate the edifying spectacle. The first flagellant is followed by others, who are sometimes carried by emulation beyond the limits of fervor. Sometimes, it is said, these scenes assume the character of a shambles, a barbarity due to antecedent rivalries and an emulation un-

⁴⁸Arsène Alexandre, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴⁹The portrait drawing of Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (cf. Hugh Stokes, *Francisco Goya*, L., 1914, p. 270), would hardly lead one to expect that the subject would be known as the "Iron Duke."

⁵⁰M. Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 94. At least two small pictures of flagellants marching in procession on Good Friday appear to have been painted by Goya, one formerly in the Academy of San Fernando and now in the Prado, the other in the Lille Museum.

⁵¹Emile Verhaeren and Darío de Regoyos, *España*

Negra, Barcelona, 1889, a Spanish translation of the articles by the Belgian poet which originally appeared in *L'Art Moderne*, with commentaries by the Spanish artist. Long out of print, it has recently been republished in the series *Cuadernos literarios*, Darío de Regoyos, *La España Negra de Verhaeren*, Madrid, 1924. It appears from José Gutiérrez-Solana, *La España Negra*, Madrid, 1924, pp. 253-254, that the latter possesses several landscapes by Darío de Regoyos and has talked with him several times, but he nowhere refers to the work of his predecessor in the literary field.

tempered by prudence on the part of the ignorant flagellants." But this mood is truly Spanish and as typical of Zuloaga as the more popular bullfighters and dancers.⁵²

Zuloaga's knowledge of bullfighting is also first-hand; he has witnessed it from the arena as well as from the ringside. In his early twenties, having apparently failed as a painter, antique dealer, and bookkeeper, he enlisted in the school of Carmona in Seville, and was making fair progress when he was so seriously gored by his eighteenth bull that out of respect for his mother's wishes, he abandoned the ring and returned to painting. The legend of Goya's life includes something of the same sort,⁵³ and such a course is not unknown in Spain, as we may learn from Goya's etching of the student Falces in the *Tauromaquia* series.⁵⁴ One of the matadors whom Zuloaga has depicted was named Pepillo, and Goya before him had etched several plates of his hero Pepe Illo.

José Delgado, known professionally as Pepe Illo, is remembered not only because of Goya's admiration but also because he wrote one of the first textbooks on bullfighting. In the introduction to that book are found certain observations which indicate that he probably originated the classical apology for bullfighting, as the same arguments are urged by every lover of the sport even to-day.⁵⁵ "Keep away from me," writes Pepe Illo, "all those peaceful, envious, fawning fellows who are impertinent enough to call this sport barbarous. Their arguments are born of fear, fathered by envy, and brought forth by their consummate laziness and indolence. Whoever sees a bullfight knows from his own experience that the maxims and systems of such fanatics are lies. He realizes that valor and skill protect the bullfighters from the charges and attacks of the fierce beast, which finally yields up its last breath in their hands. And it is no argument that sometimes a bullfighter is killed. . . Swimming and horseback riding have carried more men to their graves than bulls can ever kill."

Pepe Illo was, however, gored to death in the ring at Madrid on May 11, 1801, probably before Goya's very eyes, and the event was faithfully reported by that artist. Belmonte was once badly hurt at a corrida given under Zuloaga's auspices, but survived to have his portrait painted many times by his friend and admirer (cf. Fig. 11).⁵⁶

Zuloaga is by no means an outdoor or landscape painter, in spite of his ardent interest in this open-air sport. His is a self-contained but entirely unphotographic sort of realism, in contrast to the cosmopolitan brilliancy in depicting accidents of light and color that distinguished the Valencian Sorolla. The landscapes in Zuloaga's latest exhibition showed traces of various influences, but few of them possessed the dramatic, scenic importance of the backgrounds in his figure pieces.⁵⁷

As Unamuno remarks, "For myself I can say that the vision of Zuloaga's canvases has served to ferment my own visions of Spain in the many journeys that I have made through the land. . . Not only in the pictures of Zuloaga as in those of Velasquez does one find that the man is everything but the very landscape itself is a prolongation of the man. . . In Zuloaga's pictures the men make their environment and not the scene the men. You find the same thing in El Greco. Is it not probable that the Spanish landscape is a prolongation, a projection of the soul of the people that inhabit it?"⁵⁸

⁵²The Spanish interest in blood is discussed by Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 44ff. He quotes Barrès as saying, "I suspect the Spaniards of finding pleasure in the sight of the sufferings of Christ."

⁵³He was certainly intimate with the celebrated matadors of his day. Cf. José Velázquez y Sánchez, *Anales del Torero*, Seville, 1868, pp. 89ff. Charles Yriarte, *Goya*, Paris, 1867, p. 15, notes that Goya signed one of his letters "Francisco de los Toros."

⁵⁴Loys Delteil, *Francisco Goya*, Part 2 (*Le Peintre Graveur Illustré*, XV), Paris, 1922, No. 237. (Plate 14 of

the *Tauromaquia* series.)

⁵⁵José Delgado (alias) Illo, *La Tauromaquia ó Arte de Torear*, obra utilísima para los toreros de profesión, para los aficionados, y toda clase de sugetos que gustan de toros, Cadix, 1796, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶In the Reinhardt exhibition: No. 12, Juan Belmonte—in Gold; No. 13, Juan Belmonte—in Silver; No. 14, Juan Belmonte—in Black.

⁵⁷In the Reinhardt exhibition there were eighteen landscapes and architectural subjects.

⁵⁸Ignacio Zuloaga (Edition Estrella), p. 21.



FIG. 13—NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY: LUCIENNE BRÉVAL AS CARMEN BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 14—BROOKLYN, MUSEUM: ANITA RAMÍREZ IN BLACK BY ZULOAGA



FIG. 15—EXHIBITION AT THE REINHARDT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 1925:
THE DUCHESS OF ALBA BY ZULOAGA

The atmosphere of Zuloaga is not that of the natural man, which as Degas used to say is "good only to breathe." To his mind the world of the motion-picture camera and the glory of art are different realities. In his journeys he does not go about with kodak or sketchbook noting down aspects or details. He carries a leather-bound notebook in which he jots down memoranda, and the words he puts down act as stimulants to his visual memory when he stands before the easel.⁵⁹ The pigment in his characteristic work is applied with long, resolute strokes, corresponding to the rhythm and synthetic vision of a self-sufficient and self-reliant independent.

While earlier successes consisted of sharply-marked silhouettes against drop curtains of obviously composed landscapes, architectural elements playing a large part, his later work has shown a greater sympathy with ideas of mass and volume. At the same time his palette has acquired greater variety and range, if no more subtlety. To a certain degree, one may suspect, he has willingly shut himself up within limits which he is capable of transcending. In the exhibition at the Reinhardt Galleries, for example, there was a portrait of the Duchess of Alba (Fig. 15),⁶⁰ handled with self-conscious dash and brilliancy in technique, his own stereotyped conventions combined in impressing result with the sinuous curves and arabesques that all society painters, since Gainsborough at least, have mixed with their linseed oil. But at the side of this elaborate production hung a preliminary sketch which far outdistanced it in merit. Instead of the ready-mixed hues fresh from the tube, there were delicately mingled passages of color, a freedom from arbitrary proportions in the figure, and a suggestion of atmosphere, of poetic feeling reminiscent of Goya's early period but quite absent from Zuloaga's finished version. While Zuloaga's sketches are not generally known and possess none of the mannered distinction of his exhibited work, they contain a hint of tenderness which his fierce pride and deliberately hardened technique eliminate from the final work.

Zuloaga's brush work is not so obviously the expression of a virtuoso as is that of Besnard, Sargent, or Zorn, but it is hardly possible to agree with Camille Mauclair that he resembles Ingres in the reserve and concentration of his brush.⁶¹ To be sure, there is a concentrated emotion and forceful intent in every stroke, but in Zuloaga wherever a Gothic intensity has been replaced with an easier line, it is a distant relative of rococo rather than the pure, expressive, fluent line of Ingres.

The realism of Zuloaga is the realism of Zurbarán, a firm, objective synthesis of the seen, untroubled by the accidents of light and the intricacies of atmosphere. Like Manet in the period when Goya and Hals were his guides, Zuloaga is indifferent to atmosphere, and the dramatic effect secured by whirling, wind-swept clouds, in contrast with the determined composure of the figures in the foregrounds of many of his pictures, reminds us somewhat of El Greco, but more of Delacroix. In the shadows alone, in an effort to obtain vitality and variety in his deeper tones is there anything of recent ideas on color, but even these were probably absorbed in his study of Velasquez.

His composition is generally decidedly formal, arranged to adorn a given space. It is simple, obvious, and carefully balanced, static without surprise or particular ingenuity. The painter's physical vitality and concentrated will to expression save this aspect of his art from attracting unfavorable attention. Rather, a conventional disposition of the masses and lines of interest is relieved by oddly tortured curves, some element of intense

⁵⁹*Catalogue*, 1916, p. 24.

⁶⁰Reinhardt exhibition, No. 2. The sketch was No. 3.

⁶¹Camille Mauclair, *Museum*, Barcelona, 1913,

III, pp. 1-40. Note Renoir's remarks on Mauclair's discussion of his work, as maliciously reported in *Renoir*, Paris, 1920, pp. 129-130.

expressiveness neutralizes the stolidity which might easily creep into his work, as it does persistently into that of the Zubiaurres.⁶²

There is another point of some importance that can be demonstrated by comparing his single-figure compositions with those of Velasquez. He has on various occasions portrayed Marcelle Souty, Pilar Soler, Lucienne Bréval (Fig. 13), and other stage celebrities, for the artificial world of the theatre, with its forced lighting, and the concentration of emphasis on the figures, is one that must appeal to him.⁶³ The stage is a finite, self-contained microcosm, a vision predominantly in two dimensions from the spectator's fixed point of view; everything apart from the figures is but an accessory; landscape, in particular, is mainly a decorative device against which the actors stand out in significant relief. Recent methods of lighting have changed this situation in some theatres, but in France until recently and even now in Spain this principle prevails.⁶⁴

The theatrical aspect of Zuloaga's work is to be observed in still another regard. In a large number of his portraits and figure pieces the definite bordering line afforded by the footlights may be seen (cf. Fig. 14). Except for the direction of the light and its color, there is little difference between the picture of Mlle. Lucienne Bréval in *Carmen* (Fig. 13) and his *Castilla Vieja* (Fig. 6).⁶⁵ This lack of atmosphere, an intentional staging of the subject, marking all the difference between his portraits and those of Velasquez, inclines to produce an effect of shallowness, an absence of depth, in spite of the vigorous modelling. Probably it is this theatrical tendency which has alienated many of the younger critics, although this impression is misleading and unfortunate, since there is in Zuloaga a genuine dramatic gift in addition to his merely theatrical method.

Zuloaga's work has definitely durable qualities. First comes realism, a graphic transcription of the sensation of plastic existence, as essential a characteristic of all Spanish painting as it is of Zuloaga's. Throughout most of Spain the light and the atmosphere are so rarely tempered by any moderation between the extremes that everything is sharply felt, there are no subtle transitions or modulations that obscure the facts and stimulate the imagination. Direct observation of visual reality, expressed with the same passionate conviction with which it is felt, sublimated by a keen realization of human strength and dignity, are at the root of this phase of Spanish art.

And second comes nationalism, an immediate participation of each individual in the stubborn pride of a race that refuses to yield though often overcome, giving that peculiarly exotic flavor to Zuloaga's work which for the rest of the world constitutes so large a part of its attractiveness.

These two qualities, realism and nationalism, are not developed in the direction of a self-conscious striving for beauty. Even when Zuloaga's figures are most deliberately posed, the expressive elements predominate. Many artists, including Lunois, Vierge, and others, have gone to the Peninsula in search of stimulating models and recorded findings that are intentionally picturesque, an obvious attempt to produce the beautiful. But the ethnographic document that Zuloaga produces relies on the sheer force of dramatic intensity, a broad, skillful technique, and a balanced, formal dignity in composition to attain that satisfaction in the contemplation of created things which is a more difficult road to beauty.

⁶²José Francés, *op. cit.*, p. 138, points out that López Mezquita, Chicharro, Benedito, the Zubiaurres, Rodríguez Acosta, and other well-known Spanish artists have been inspired by Zuloaga's success to depict regional types also.

⁶³See Raymond Escholier, *Daumier*, Paris, 1923, pp. 73ff. for Daumier's interest in the theatre, and p. 122 for his practice of drawing from memory. These similarities

to Zuloaga, added to their common interest in Goya, would provide material for instructive comparisons.

⁶⁴The expressionist point of view is to be seen in Sheldon Cheney, *A Primer of Modern Art*, New York, 1924, pp. 335ff.

⁶⁵For the illustrations used in this article I am indebted to the courtesy of Henry Reinhardt & Son, the Hispanic Society of America, and the Brooklyn Museum.



FIG. 1—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICA: ANGEL OF THE ANNUNCIATION ON SANCTUARY WALL



FIG. 2—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA, PALIMPSEST WALL OF SANCTUARY: CROWNED MADONNA AND ANGEL, EARLIEST LAYER; ANNUNCIATION, SECOND LAYER; CHURCH FATHER, LAYER ASCRIBED TO JOHN VII

The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome

By MYRTILLA AVERY

Amidst the wreckage of the frescoes in the ancient church of S. Maria Antiqua there appears an angel's head of such surprising beauty that even the jaded summer tourist has been observed to pause before it (Fig. 1). To archaeologists the head has been a problem ever since it was brought to light in the excavations of the Forum in 1900; for its Hellenistic qualities are so pronounced and are rendered with such understanding and skill that it insistently calls to mind not late classic work but Pompeian heads like that of Aphrodite in the Punishment of Eros now in the Naples Museum (Fig. 3). The lower part of a head (Fig. 2) facing the angel identified the subject as the Annunciation, and although this fragment lacks the haunting charm of the angel, it betrays the same illusionistic technique. These characteristics are even more apparent because of the close proximity of a crowned Madonna with the Child attended by an angel (Fig. 2),¹ in a style so different that it is not surprising that the angel's head was at first supposed to be earlier than the crowned Madonna² and a supreme, if unique, example of the Pompeian style lingering at Rome. This explanation, difficult in itself for lack of comparative evidence, became untenable when examination of the layers revealed that the Annunciation had been painted *over* the crowned Madonna; but this discovery did not disconcert the advocates of the persistence in Italy of the Pompeian technique; it supplied them instead with additional proof.³ It was during a study of Professor C. R. Morey's theory of the sources of mediaeval style that the different explanation I am about to offer presented itself.⁴

I shall not repeat in detail the description of the church and its decorations published in the full and careful reports and discussions by Mr. Rushforth,⁵ W. de Grüneisen,⁶ and Monsignor Wilpert.⁷ But it is necessary to have in mind as a basis for this study the few facts known about the church and some of the generally accepted conclusions.⁸

The building, of pagan origin, consisted of an entrance court preceding a peristyle, which opened into three chambers. It was obviously easy to convert these into an atrium, nave, and sanctuary with side chapels. In the end wall of the sanctuary was a square niche, which at an unknown date was replaced by a circular apse, and between the piers of the nave (i.e., the pagan peristyle) was added a choir screen, of which only the lower portions remain (Fig. 6).

¹The head of a saint at the right of the crowned Madonna with the lettering and part of another halo between the two angels belong to a later decoration.

²Even by Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, p. 330.

³E. g., Raimond van Marle, *La peinture romaine au moyen-âge*, pp. 29, 30-34, 42. (*Italian Schools of Painting*, I, pp. 60, 66-68.)

⁴Professor Morey's views are summarized in his article in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, 1924. To avoid repetition I have taken for granted a general acquaintance with the styles and iconography there discussed. I am much indebted to Professor Morey for suggestions in developing the argument.

⁵G. McN. Rushforth, *The Church of S. Maria Antiqua*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, 1902. Mr. Rushforth was director of the British School at this time. His report is very reliable though early and without illustrations.

⁶W. de Grüneisen and others, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*,

1911. A great mass of comparative material, well illustrated but unfortunately not conveniently arranged, is combined with important theories and conjectural restorations of frescoes. There are excellent plates, some in color.

⁷Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, II, pp. 653-726; IV (plates), 1917. In this monumental work Monsignor Wilpert has included the results of his long and painstaking study of the frescoes of S. Marie Antiqua and their different layers and has reproduced nearly every fragment that remains on the wall in an almost unbelievably true color effect. My study in the churches of Rome has been constantly supplemented by these plates, which alone in the present condition of the frescoes have made comparative study possible.

⁸Except in matters of controversy I shall quote from the three authorities above-mentioned without specific references.

While the sanctuary still retained its square niche the church was decorated, and at the right of the niche was placed the scene of the crowned Madonna under an architectural canopy originally consisting of an arch between two gables. The left side of the composition was lost when the square niche was remodelled into an apse, but the cover design of this magazine shows the original scene as restored by Wilpert.

After the construction of the apse the sanctuary was redecorated, and to this second layer of frescoes belongs the Annunciation⁹ with the "Pompeian" angel (Figs. 1 and 2). To this layer belong also the decorative panels below; but the row of church fathers (Figs. 4 and 5) between the dado and the upper scene (Fig. 7) is, according to Wilpert, on a later (third) layer.

This third layer supplies our first clue to a date; for the church fathers carry scrolls the inscriptions of which connect them with the Lateran Council of 649 called by Pope Martin I in protest against the imperial edict which decreed silence in regard to the Monothelite heresy. These figures are less carefully executed than the Annunciation above and Wilpert is probably right in thinking that they were hastily inserted by Pope Martin I to record publicly the orthodox position declared by the council.¹⁰ If so, the third layer must be dated between 649, the date of the consecration of Martin I, and 653, when he was exiled by the emperor for his zealous opposition.

The next layer (fourth) covered the whole sanctuary.¹¹ It included, on the palimpsest wall, a new row of church fathers, one of whose heads is visible at the right of the crowned Madonna (Fig. 2), and above this, a row of four popes, of whom one is labeled St. Martin and another is given a square nimbus (Figs. 16, 17). The latter is identified as John VII (705-707) because in the first reference to S. Maria Antiqua in the *Liber pontificalis* he is recorded as having decorated the church;¹² and this layer is obviously later than that of Pope Martin I (649-53) and earlier than that of Pope Paul I (757-67), who appears in the apse as the donor of the fifth and last layer, representing Christ standing between tetramorphs (Fig. 7).

Outside of these five layers in the sanctuary the frescoes contain only two other clues to dating: in the left chapel (Fig. 9) the square nimbuses and inscriptions connect the decorations with Pope Zacharias (741-52); and in the atrium a scene of Maria Regina attended by saints (Fig. 8) includes a pope with a square nimbus who is identified by a fragmentary inscription as Hadrian I (772-93). There is documentary evidence that the church had been abandoned by the middle of the ninth century, perhaps as a result of the earthquake of 847, since the excavations showed that the walls had been crushed. The atrium, however, continued to be used for a century or more as a burial place and oratory. Our evidence therefore indicates that the second layer containing the Annunciation was earlier than 649 and later than the crowned Madonna, that the decoration of the left chapel was later than that of John VII in the sanctuary, that no painting in the main body of the church can be later than the middle of the ninth century, and that the latest dated fresco is of the end of the eighth century and is in the atrium.

The first step in attempting to solve the problem of the beautiful angel of the second

⁹Restored by Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 207¹, with the Virgin seated. The proportions of the angel should be more slender.

¹⁰This would accord with the zealous spirit he showed in sending letters within a month to bishops far and wide announcing the decrees of the council. (*Liber*

Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, I, pp. 337, 339, n. 5.)

¹¹With the possible exception of the apse (see p. 137, note 27).

¹²"*Pictura decoravit*" (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, p. 385).



FIG. 3 — NAPLES, MUSEUM: PUNISHMENT
OF EROS



FIGS. 4 AND 5—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: CHURCH FATHERS OF MARTIN I



FIG. 6—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: INTERIOR



FIG. 7—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: SANCTUARY WALL SHOWING THE FIVE LAYERS

layer is a study of the scene with the crowned Madonna (Fig. 2). The arresting difference in style between the two layers lies in the lack of all regard in the first for *chiaroscuro*, which is of primary importance in the second, and in the lavish use in the earlier scene of jeweled ornament for decorative effects. The Madonna's elaborate costume consists of two tunics, one with tight and one with flowing sleeves, a purple mantle embroidered with birds in circles surrounded by pearls, and a cape heavy with pearls and cabochon gems. Her jeweled crown is in two layers and at the side of her face her hair is bound back by a jeweled band; from behind falls a light veil. Her left hand holds a folded handkerchief (*mappa*) embroidered with a cross. It is the first example in Christian art of Maria Regina robed in the full regalia of oriental splendor.¹³

The two garments of the Child are of rich material, the outer one adorned with clavi and with an ornamental letter. On His feet are sandals and He holds a jeweled book. The angel approaching on the Virgin's left¹⁴ carries a jeweled crown on veiled hands. On his fringed white garments also are clavi and an embroidered ornament. The lyre-backed throne, covered with double rows of pearls alternating with large cabochons, combines with the jeweled costume of the Virgin to form a brilliant and striking pattern.

The most familiar examples of this use of ornate design are the sixth-century mosaics of Ravenna, and their resemblance to the Madonna scene at S. Maria Antiqua consists not only in their common use of jewels, fringes, and embroideries but in similar details of pose and gesture. The Roman scene is a kind of synopsis of the court costumes of S. Vitale and the frontal Virgin and Child of S. Apollinare Nuovo with angels and saints bearing crowns on covered hands. Although the Virgin's jeweled throne at Ravenna is straight-backed, the throne of our Lord on the opposite wall is lyre-backed with ornament corresponding to that of the Roman scene. The lyre-backed throne appears in the sixth century at St. Demetrius, Thessalonica,¹⁵ and again at S. Agata Maggiore, Ravenna.¹⁶ I have not found it earlier than the sixth century nor elsewhere in Rome at this date;¹⁷ and while jeweled ornament had long been used in Italy, this pattern of

¹³This is shown in the article on Maria Regina by Miss Marion Lawrence (pp. 150 ff. of this magazine).

¹⁴The composition was undoubtedly symmetrical, as the restoration indicates (see the cover design of this magazine).

¹⁵Charles Diehl, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, p. 1, pls. XXVII, XXXIV, and pp. 97f.

¹⁶The chair on one of the front ciborium columns of St. Mark's may be of the type, but its lines resemble rather the faldstool variety used on the ivory panel of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and on the diptych leaf of St. Paul in the Bargello (R. Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, pl. 498, I; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, figs. 117, 129). In any case, the two front columns are now quite generally believed to be eastern and of the sixth century (O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 155). It appears also on a reliquary from Grado (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, 436, 5) undated, but in style certainly not earlier than the sixth century. It is found quite often in later Asiatic miniatures: five times in the ninth-century Paris manuscript of the Sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen (Gr. 510. See Omont, *Facsimilés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, pls. XV, XXV, XXXI, LIII, LIX); the Paris manuscript of Nicephorus Botaniates (Omont, pls. LXI, LXIII); a manuscript of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Mt. Athos (A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1, p. 246). It was popular also in the later mediaeval period

at Rome (e. g., apses of S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore).

The only one of these later thrones, however, that resembles in its swelling curves the one at S. Maria Antiqua is in the twelfth-century apse of S. Francesca Romana, the church formerly known as S. Maria Nuova, to which S. Maria Antiqua was transferred after the abandonment of the old church in the ninth century. The apse decoration in this church, characterized by Professor Morey in his *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome* as "the strangest of all the mosaics of Rome," has also the crowned Madonna and an arcaded background. It adds to the puzzle to find also the four attendant figures, the hand of God in a wreath, and the bordering inscription, which were apparently added to the Virgin enthroned in the original decoration of the apse at S. Maria Antiqua (see p. 137, note 27). The interval of one hundred years between the loss of the original scene in the apse at S. Maria Antiqua and the first record (in the middle of the ninth century) of the decoration of S. Maria Nuova (by Pope Nicholas I (858-67); see *Lib. Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, II, p. 158) prevents the natural explanation that the old apse composition was repeated in the new church. Possibly the scene was preserved in one of the niches of the atrium.

¹⁷The chair of St. Augustine in a fresco found in the Sancta Sanctorum (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 140), cited by Van Marle (*op. cit.*, p. 30; English version, p. 58) is of different type, showing the shape only in profile.

large cabochons alternating with repeated rows of pearls was a favorite decoration at Ravenna.¹⁸ The throne at S. Maria Antiqua, therefore, seems to be a sixth-century form coming to Rome from Ravenna.

In figure style the Roman scene has further points in common with Ravenna, especially with the imperial groups at S. Vitale. The face is broad across the cheeks, with a low brow, heavily lined eyebrows, and a long nose connected by a little line with the bow-shaped upper lip. The contour lines are clear and strong, while light and shade are almost wholly neglected. It is evident that pattern in two dimensions rather than depth of composition has been the aim of the artist.

But with these resemblances there are significant differences. The proportions of the Roman figures are heavier and the eyes more staring. The line is coarse and the drawing of form poor, especially in the hands. With all its wealth of jewels, the scene lacks the studied elegance of the court ladies of Ravenna. It belongs rather with cruder versions like that in the apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, a typical example of unassimilated Asiatic influence in sixth-century painting at Rome. If any adumbrations of Hellenistic form still survived, they were becoming more and more feeble under the counter influences from Ravenna and in the inexpert rendering of local artists. It is an example of this sixth-century Roman painting after it had acquired some of the forms but not the technique of the fashionable Asiatic style that has been preserved to us in the crowned Madonna of S. Maria Antiqua.¹⁹

Its affiliations with sixth-century Roman style are even more apparent, as many critics have observed, when it is compared with the scene of the Virgin Enthroned with the Widow Turtura (Fig. 10) in the Catacomb of Commodilla, dated 528.²⁰ Some of the points of resemblance are more interesting than significant, such as the similar position of the Virgin's hands, the presence of the *mappa* in her left hand, the shape and color of the cushion, and the jeweled ornament of the throne. But besides these, there is close similarity in the proportions of the Child and in some details of form, especially in the figures of the Widow Turtura and the approaching angel at S. Maria Antiqua. The painter in the catacombs, however, was more successful in the Asiatic rendering of the two male saints, and the costume and general effect of the Virgin recall the enthroned Madonna of S. Apollinare Nuovo. But in spite of these qualities, the effect is Roman and it is in its Roman elements, especially in the Widow Turtura and the Child, that its similarity to the scene at S. Maria Antiqua is most evident. Without pressing resemblances too far, the similarity of the crowned Madonna at S. Maria Antiqua to monuments dated in the first half of the sixth century, such as the group with the Widow Turtura, the apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, and the Ravenna mosaics, make it difficult to understand Wilpert's date of the fifth century for the earliest layer at S. Maria Antiqua. A date in the sixth century seems assured by the lyre-backed throne and other affinities in ornament and style with the examples cited at Ravenna and Rome.²¹

¹⁸Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, 241, 242, 244, 258, 264-67. After the sixth century this form of ornament is widespread.

¹⁹The unmistakable symptom of Asiatic tradition betrays itself in the conch arch behind the Virgin flanked by aediculae. This combination was the characteristic feature of the Asiatic sarcophagi and continues in Asiatic art as a favorite background for figures. Compare its use at the end of the ninth century in an Asiatic miniature of the Paris manuscript (no. 510) of the Ser-

mons of St. Gregory Nazianzen (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII). For the full discussion of the Asiatic sarcophagi see C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, Sardis*, V, 1, Princeton University Press, 1924.

²⁰Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 136.

²¹It may be added that the earliest dated inscription that can possibly be connected with the church is of the year 572 (Rushforth, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

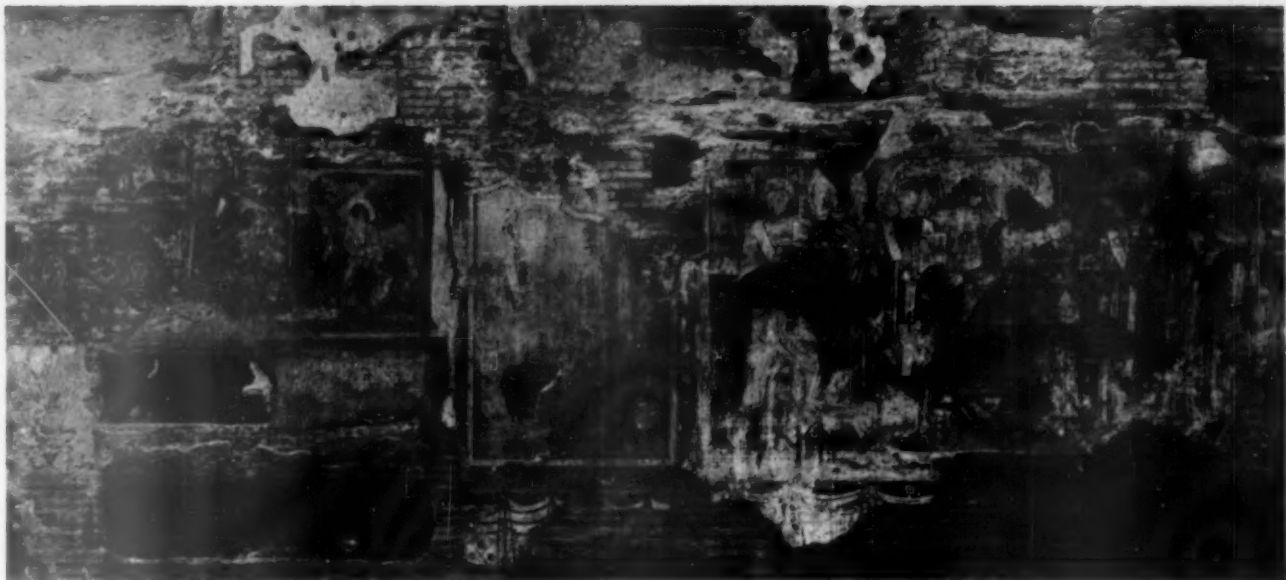


FIG. 8—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICA: DECORATIONS OF ATRIUM



FIG. 9—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICA: DECORATIONS OF LEFT CHAPEL



FIG. 10 — ROME, CATACOMB OF COMMODILLA: VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH THE WIDOW TURTURA



FIG. 11—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: SCENE ABOVE THE APSE



FIG. 12—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: HEAD OF ST. ANDREW ON LEFT WALL OF SANCTUARY



FIG. 13 — ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: SERAPH ABOVE THE APSE

Whether or not Roman painting in the sixth century was influenced from Ravenna, it is clear that by the seventh century the Asiatic style was as popular at Rome as in Ravenna itself. The great papal decorations like those of S. Agnese and the Lateran chapel of S. Venanzio are Asiatic in conception and betray almost no sign of the old Roman love of form.

It must have been at some time during this period of ascendancy of the Asiatic style at Rome that the square niche in the sanctuary of S. Maria Antiqua was replaced by the apse; but in the repainting which followed, the beautifully modelled figure of the angel had as little in common with the elegant patterns of the great contemporary mosaics as with the sixth-century scene which it replaced. In contrast to their stiff postures and flat forms the angel's head is gently inclined in a natural movement, and in the pointed oval face the bony structure is clearly shown. Shadows define the straight nose and curving roundness of the cheeks; they give expression to the almond-shaped eyes and play about the edges of the lips; and through them the contours pass imperceptibly from plane to plane. The light plays an equal part in giving form to this face, and brings into relief the mantle which outlines the V-shaped opening at the neck. On the shoulder curly locks fall lightly. Behind, a fragment of the wings shows shortened feathers outlining the structure.

The brush strokes which give direction to the shadows of the eyes and define the forms of nostrils and lips are kept within the technique of *chiaroscuro*. The lines of the garment, following the body, disclose a tall and slender figure instinct with movement. These conceptions and this technique are solely Greek, and by their means this fragment remains a vivid embodiment of energy and grace.

It is unnecessary to point out the contrast between this head and those in the scene of the crowned Madonna, for it is in complete opposition to the tendencies and tastes crudely but definitely embodied in the earlier layer. But while its superior draftsmanship differentiates it from local Roman work, it is no less antagonistic to the accomplished products of Asiatic style then in vogue at Rome. From such an environment the production of this angel's head would have been a miracle.

This contrast in style increases in significance when it becomes evident by study of the remaining frescoes of the church that the angel's head is not an isolated phenomenon but rather a specimen of a style the employment or influence of which extends to a great part of the existing decoration and is then as definitely abandoned. This can perhaps be made more clear by examining first the frescoes of the sanctuary, where the layers determine the chronologic sequence. Of the second layer, all that is now visible besides the angel is the fragmentary head of the Virgin Annunciate (Fig. 2). Though this belongs to a fuller and heavier type, its effects of form are achieved by the same means as the more beautiful head of the angel. The same technique of light and shade may be detected in the four church fathers below, in spite of the careless execution and injured condition of this third layer believed to have been inserted by Martin I (Figs. 4 and 5).

The fourth layer (John VII) contains the interesting record of the gradual decline of the style. The mannerisms of copyists appear, an example of which is the "clubfeet" of the three figures at the right, over the inscription, in the Adoration of the Crucified above the apse (Fig. 11). At times the style is strongly affected by the contemporary Roman linear technique.

The scene above the apse is close to the style of the second layer, as may be seen by comparing the angel's head with one of the seraphim (Fig. 13), though in the latter the brush strokes which give direction to the shadows are less subtle. Throughout the groups

there is no hint of frontality. The heads are inclined and the backs curved in the artist's eagerness to express movement.²²

In the two well preserved gospel scenes on the side wall this movement develops into liveliness, especially in the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 14). Here again are to be seen the curved backs, inclined heads, and well developed muscular action. In the *Via Crucis* (Fig. 15) there is an encroaching tendency to frontality in the group about Christ, but Simon of Cyrene in movement and "clubfoot" is allied to the scene above the apse.

To the same style belongs the fine figure of St. Anne holding the little Virgin (Fig. 19),²³ allowing for differences between the monumental pose and the narrative style. The head of St. Anne, like that of the Virgin in the Adoration of the Magi, conforms to the type of the Virgin of the second layer rather than to that of the angel. There is also an increasing tendency to outline by means of brush strokes, suggested in the seraph's head (Fig. 13), though more marked in the gospel scenes than in St. Anne.

It is obvious, however, that all these scenes, beginning with the Annunciation of the second layer, belong to the technique of light and shade rather than that of line. In spite of differences in skill and varieties of types they show an intimate knowledge of those traditions of movement and grace combined with form which characterize the angel and differentiate it from the stark rigidity of the crowned Madonna. All the inscriptions except those of the gospel scenes are in Greek.

All the other frescoes of the fourth layer reflect an increasing tendency toward a linear technique. They include the row of popes (Figs. 16, 17), fragments of another series of church fathers (Fig. 2), and several heads of saints in medallions. In some of these the lines appear to be overemphasized accents within a technique of form (Fig. 12), but the tendency to rely on line increases and is very evident in the head of the church father on the palimpsest wall (Fig. 2). The popes, in contrast to the figures above the apse, are in the characteristically Roman pose, with heads frontal and the drapery drawn violently to one side by the half-standing, half-walking position. All the inscriptions of this group except the Greek names of the two Greek fathers are in Latin.²⁴

In the fifth layer, the apse decoration of Paul I, no trace remains of the Hellenistic style (Fig. 7). The manner is again that of the crowned Madonna with the changes resulting from the experience of two centuries in Asiatic practice. The Roman feeling for bulk and the big black eyes with rounded contours remain, but the proportions of the figure are elongated and the forms are spread out against a striped background with a more developed interest in pattern. Nevertheless, the general effect is Roman.

For his subject Paul I has returned to the popular Roman apsidal composition, simplifying the scene as it appears at Sts. Cosmas and Damian.²⁵ Our Lord stands with

²²The central figure on the cross is so injured that conclusions as to its style are impossible. From the floor of the church, even with strong glasses, one cannot be sure whether it is bearded or beardless and here even Wilpert fails for he describes the figure as short-bearded (II, p. 671) and shows it exactly as it appears from the floor of the church (IV, pl. 155). Enough remains, however, to indicate that the figure is nude and facing straight forward, like the earliest western representations of the Crucifixion: e. g., the British Museum panel (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, pl. IV) recently assigned by Professor E. Baldwin Smith to Provence (*Art Studies*, 1924, *A Source of Medieval Style in France*, p. 95, fig. 7); and the doors of S. Sabina (A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, p. 333). It differs from the scene in the chapel at old St. Peter's decorated with mosaic by John VII, as recorded in the seventeenth-century drawings of Grimaldi (reproduced by Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, p. 390, fig.

128, and Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI) in the important point that the mosaic follows the Asiatic (and in the West, later) iconography of the Rabula Gospel, where Christ is clothed in a colobium. The possibility that the scene was changed to accord with later tastes is somewhat weakened by its resemblance to the composition preserved in the left chapel of S. Maria Antiqua (see p. 139).

²³On the right wall of the sanctuary.

²⁴This use of Greek and Latin in one monument occurs also in the ambo of John VII (see Rushforth, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

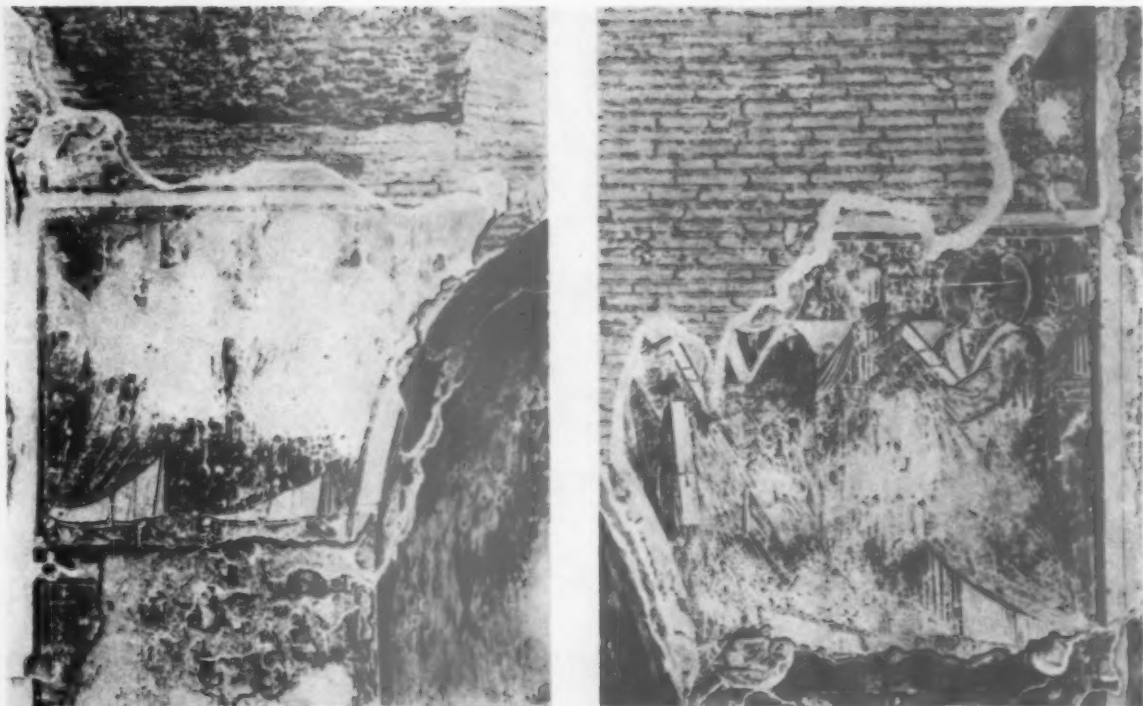
²⁵The tetramorphs, which appear here for the first time in a monumental composition at Rome (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 702), are perhaps of Asiatic inspiration, as they are found on the ciborium columns of St. Mark's (Ongania, *La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, V, pl. Z. I. c.) and in later Cappadocian frescoes (H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, pp. 147-48). The combination, though in a less compact form, is found at Bawit



FIG. 14—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ADORATION OF THE MAGI ON LEFT WALL OF SANCTUARY



FIG. 15—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: VIA CRUCIS ON LEFT WALL OF SANCTUARY



FIGS. 16 AND 17—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ROW OF POPES ON PALIMPEST WALL



FIG. 18—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: SAINTS IN CHAPEL OF PHYSICIANS



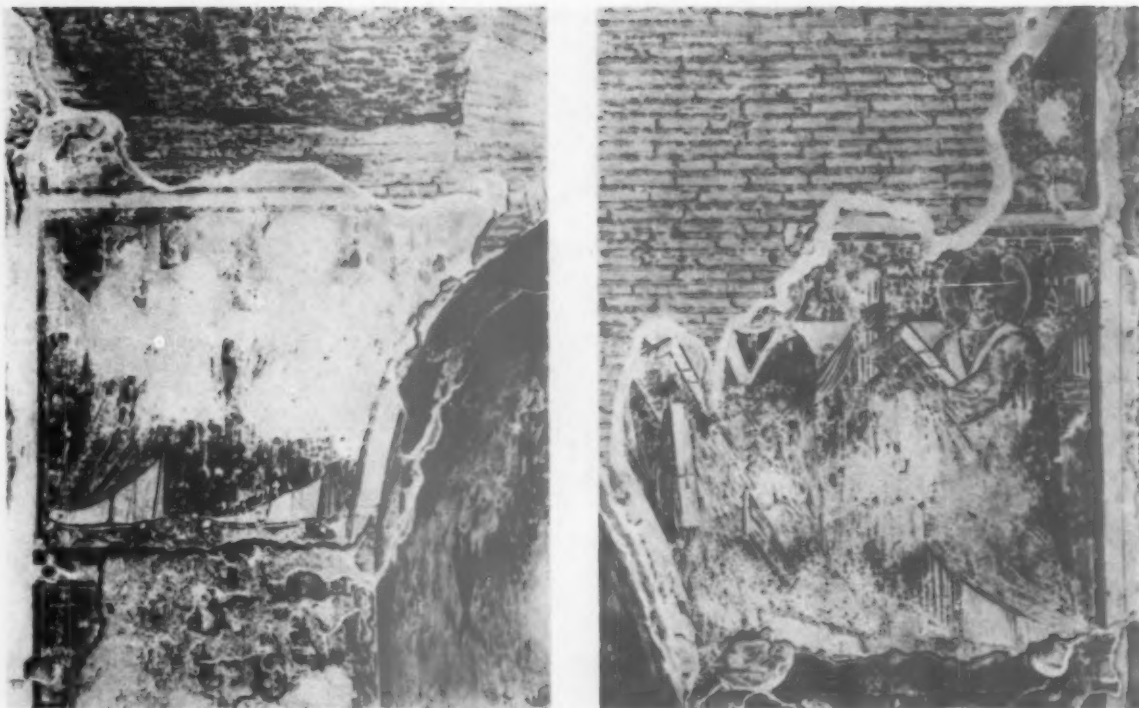
FIG. 21—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST.
BARBARA ON RIGHT INNER PIER



FIG. 20—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST.
DEMETRIUS ON LEFT INNER PIER



FIG. 19—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST. ANNE
WITH THE INFANT VIRGIN ON RIGHT WALL
OF SANCTUARY



FIGS. 16 AND 17—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ROW OF POPES ON PALIMPSEST WALL



FIG. 18—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: SAINTS IN CHAPEL OF PHYSICIANS



FIG. 21—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST.
BARBARA ON RIGHT INNER PIER

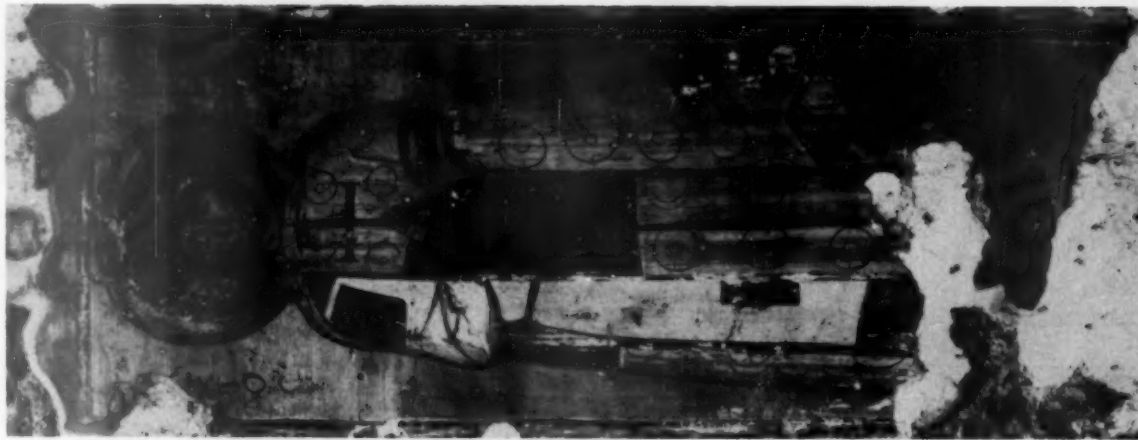


FIG. 20—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST.
DEMETRIUS ON LEFT INNER PIER

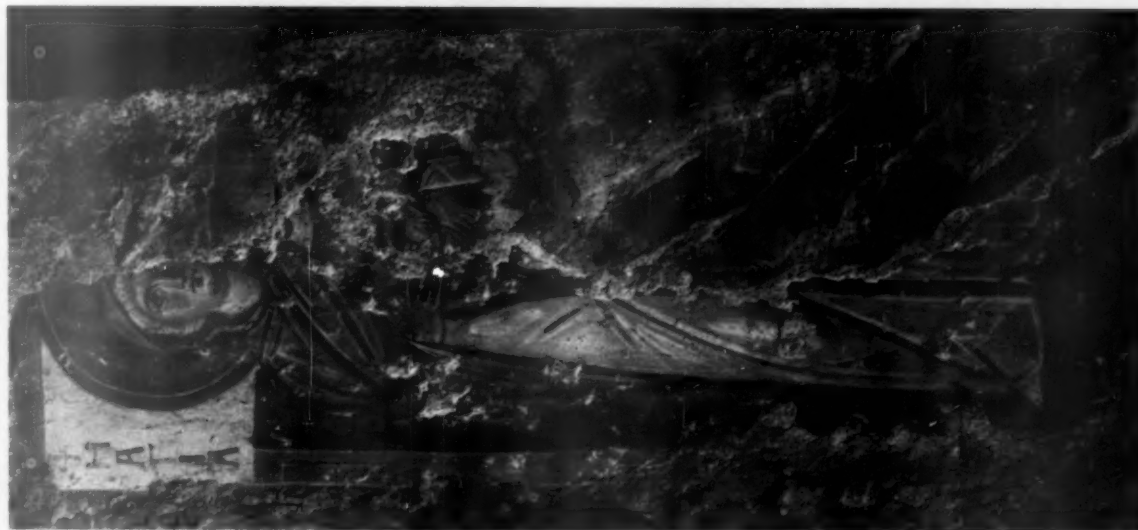


FIG. 19—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: ST. ANNE
WITH THE INFANT VIRGIN ON RIGHT WALL
OF SANCTUARY



FIG. 23—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: THE ANNUNCIATION ON LEFT INNER
PIER (EARLIER LAYER)

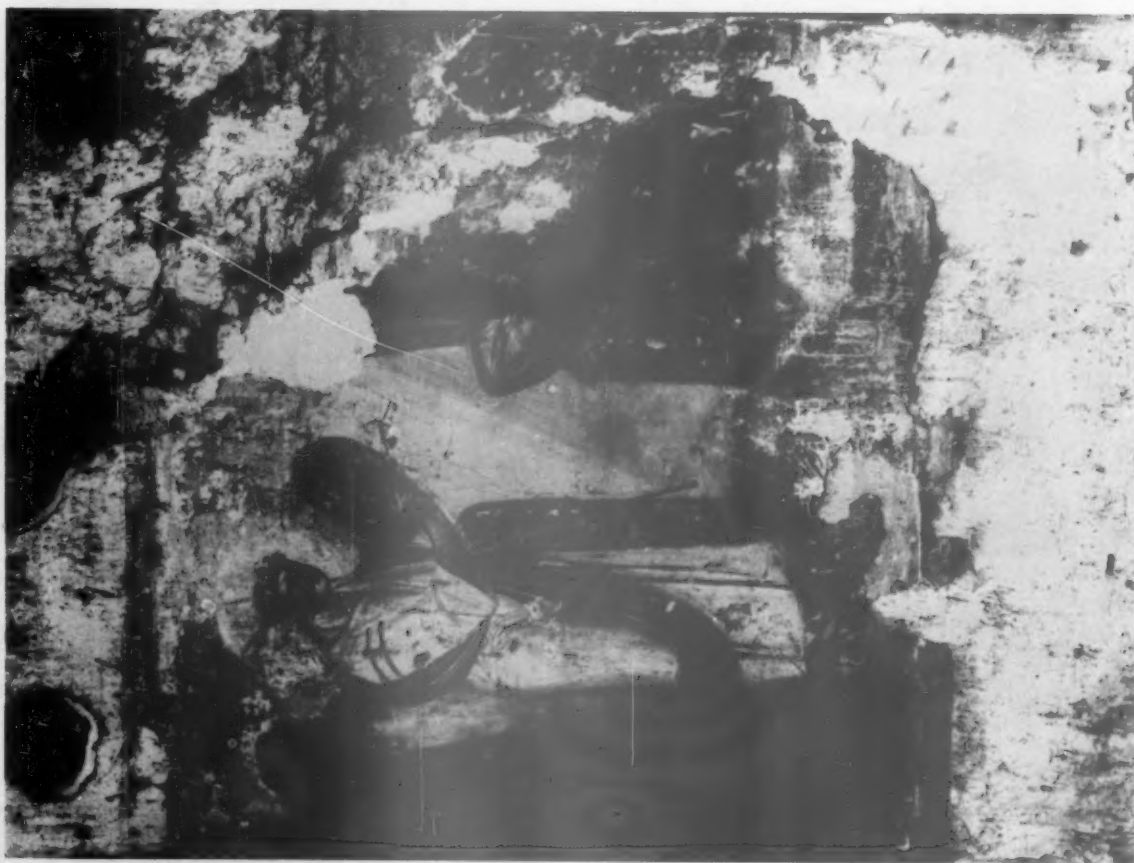


FIG. 22—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: THE ANNUNCIATION ON LEFT INNER
PIER (UPPER LAYER)

stern gaze holding a book in one hand, the other raised in blessing. At His side a saint²⁶ presents the donor, whose name is inscribed in Latin. The change from a semi-naturalistic to a neutral background is in accordance with the increasing popularity of Asiatic ideas at Rome in the eighth century, and this scene or one like it provided the ninth-century copyist in the apse of the Roman church of S. Marco with his figure of Christ standing on a footstool.

These layers indicate, therefore, an original decoration in the Roman manner of the sixth century, a sudden change to the Hellenistic style, which declined and disappeared in the eighth century when the Roman style returned. The steady decay of Greek form is accompanied by a change from Greek to Latin inscriptions. The inscriptions of Martin I are in Greek; those of John VII are in Greek and Latin; and that of Paul I is in Latin only.²⁷

Changes similar to those in the sanctuary are found also in the rest of the decoration of the church. The Hellenistic style is continued in the groups of saints in the right chapel (Fig. 18)²⁸ and in two scenes on the piers in the nave facing the sanctuary.²⁹ On other sides of these piers are figures of St. Demetrius (Fig. 20) and St. Barbara (Fig. 21) corresponding to the style of St. Anne (Fig. 19). The St. Demetrius is connected also with the once adjoining Annunciation (Fig. 22) (now transferred to the opposite wall) by its pink background, arrangement of the zig-zag folds, and green shadows in the drapery. This Annunciation in turn shows close analogies with the Adoration of the Crucified on the wall above the apse (Fig. 11). There is the same regard for form and bulk, the shadowed eyes, and swaying pose. More distinctive are the rounded contours, the peculiar thrust forward of the head, the "club-foot," and the blue nimbus instead of the more usual dark-bordered yellow form. The tendency to sharpen contours by firm brush strokes allies these also with the two gospel scenes.

The relationship between these two groups was made clearer by the discovery underneath the Annunciation on the pier of an earlier and more beautiful version of the same subject (Fig. 23). Of this, little remains except the lithe figure of the angel, but his lineage is clear. Lightly poised, with the drapery flying back against the firm lines of his body, he is plainly a descendant of Nike.³⁰ Beside him the salutation is written in Greek. It is unfortunate that no facial details remain to sustain the Hellenistic character of this embodiment of movement, but his slender well knit figure, the curving outline of his back, and the little curls in the neck derive from the same concepts which produced the beautiful angel of the sanctuary.

One more scene is important in reconstructing the style introduced into S. Maria Antiqua with the angel of the second layer. The group of the Maccabees, on the opposite pier (Fig. 24), is remarkable not only for the modelling of its figures, their graceful proportions and free movement, but even more for its composition in space, which is managed with an understanding and skill unique in Rome at this period. For it must not be overlooked that this is not a narrative composition but a monumental group. The scene is domi-

(Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît in Mémoires . . . de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, vol. 12, pls. 41 and 42). It is therefore uncertain whether their use in the ninth-century Vatican manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes (C. Stornajolo, *Le Miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosmas Indicopleustes*, pl. 48) is a later and Asiatic addition or part of the Alexandrian original.

²⁶Here, according to Wilpert, the Virgin, the titular saint of the church (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 702).

²⁷The Greek inscription visible at the right in the apse is part of an earlier layer. It is not clear whether

this belongs to the decoration of John VII or to the original painting of the apse when the second layer was put on the wall at the side. From the exposed section Wilpert has reproduced the heads of St. Peter and an angel on the left (*op. cit.*, IV, pl. 141¹) and reconstructs the scene with Maria Regina enthroned and attended by two angels between Sts. Peter and Paul. Above he has found some indications of a wreath with the hand of God (*ibid.*, II, p. 668).

²⁸Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pls. 145¹ and 165.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pl. 145² and 1.

³⁰Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

nated by the tall, animate form of the mother, who, as proto-martyr, is given the nimbus and the title of saint. Grouped about her, in front and behind, are her seven sons (Fig. 25) and the bearded EAEAZAP whose stories of martyrdom are told in II Maccabees and elaborated with pitiless detail in the Jewish philosophical homily known as IV Maccabees. The background shows bands of brownish green, light and dark blue, indicating a tradition of naturalistic representation of earth, horizon, and sky.

This interest in landscape background is conspicuous in a fragment on the low screen wall nearby, where, in a flowery field, David stands over the slain body of Goliath (Fig. 26, left). The other scenes in this part of the church and on the right wall, though very ruinous, are full of reminiscences of the Hellenistic technique.

There is reason to believe that the whole church may once have been painted in this style, for it reappears in parts which seem not to have been redecorated, as the narrow side walls of a passage through the nave wall to the ramp (Fig. 27),³¹ and after sporadic instances in the atrium it reappears in the decorations of the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs near the entrance to the church (Fig. 28).

Grüneisen believes that the left chapel (Fig. 9) was originally decorated by John VII, and that the signed decoration of Theodotus in the pontificate of Zacharias (741-52) was repainting in which parts of the earlier decoration were preserved.³² Certainly some explanation is required for the variety of styles in these frescoes, and Grüneisen is probably right in assigning no more to Theodotus than the head of Pope Zacharias and the donor scenes (Figs. 29 and 30). About these there can be no doubt as to the style. They return to that of the crowned Madonna with almost as much abruptness as the change from the first to the second layer in the sanctuary. Even better than the more accomplished scene of Paul I in the apse they show what had been happening in Rome since the earliest frescoes were painted in S. Maria Antiqua. There is still left the stocky forms and the old clumsy drawing, but Asiatic ideals have gained ground and Roman artists have become more accustomed to the substitution of line for form. The figures, isolated and frontal, are disposed against the background with a primary interest in pattern and this is enhanced by the frequent introduction and meticulous rendering of ornament.

These qualities become very apparent by comparing the family group of the donor (Fig. 29) with that of the Maccabees (Fig. 24). In the latter there is naturalistic modelling and drapery with an illusion of movement in space; in the other, a row of frontal figures, with misshapen hands spread out as shapes in the tight contours of the pattern and a little old man and an undersized young woman take the place of the children of the Maccabees. It cannot be held that this is difference of expertness merely; the two scenes result from different ideals. But it is perhaps because of a lurking dislike for the unreality of the elegant patterns of the dominant style that the Roman variety is so constantly crude.

The same coarse drawing characterizes the figure of the kneeling donor in the scene on the entrance wall (Fig. 30), and the contrast with the more expert rendering of the other figures, especially the hand of St. Quiricus, suggests that the figure of the donor was a later addition to the scene.

The best preserved fresco in the church is the well-known Crucifixion in this chapel, and in this the mixture of styles is very evident (Fig. 9). The composition has often been

³¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 168 and 2.

³²Grüneisen based this on the evident additions to the fresco of the head of Pope Zacharias and of the donor in the row of saints with the dedicatory inscription below the Crucifixion. In the ensuing controversy with Wilpert,

Strzygowski defended Grüneisen's view (*Byz. Zeitschrift*, XV, p. 700) and Wilpert (*op. cit.*, II, p. 692) now admits that the decoration may have been begun a little before the pontificate of Zacharias.



FIG. 24—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: THE MACCABEES ON RIGHT INNER PIER



FIG. 25—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: TWO YOUNGEST SONS OF THE MACCABEES ON RIGHT INNER PIER



FIG. 26—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: DAVID AND GOLIATH (LEFT) AND HEZEKIAH AND THE PROPHET ISAIAH (RIGHT) ON CHOIR SCREEN



FIG. 27—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA:
DESCENT INTO LIMBUS ON RIGHT
SIDE OF PASSAGE TO RAMP



FIG. 28—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: THE FORTY MARTYRS IN
CHAPEL OF THE FORTY MARTYRS



FIG. 29 — ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: DONOR'S FAMILY GROUP ON RIGHT WALL OF LEFT CHAPEL

connected with the Asiatic miniature (Fig. 31) in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula (586 A.D.), but if this or a similar miniature supplied the model for the background and central group,³³ it is apparent that the Roman artist has taken his figures of the Virgin and St. John from another source, not even relating the latter to the figure on the cross. That this source was the frescoes of the church of S. Maria Antiqua itself is suggested by the full-jowled head of the Virgin (of the type on the second layer) and by the now familiar "clubfoot" of St. John. The similarity between this composition and that of the scene in the chapel at St. Peter's decorated by John VII was noted by Rushforth,³⁴ who suggested that the fresco might have been copied from the mosaic. If, however, Grüneisen's conjecture is correct, both scenes were the product of John VII's decorators.

In still a different style are the narrative scenes on the side walls from the lives of St. Julitta and St. Quiricus (Fig. 32), which were perhaps copied from miniatures, since they employ the descriptive labels beginning with "ubi," like the directions to the artist found beneath the flaked-off colors in the miniatures of the Quedlinburg Itala.³⁵ Though the source of the St. Quiricus series is unknown, it is clear from the quality of the line that the technique is not Roman, like that of the donor figures in this chapel, nor does the figure drawing correspond with the lively movement and significant gestures in the small gospel scenes of the sanctuary. The stylistic qualities suggest rather some Asiatic influence such as might have emanated from the Basilian monks of S. Saba on the slopes of the Aventine. Some fragments of their frescoes in that church still remain to show the Asiatic narrative style in mural decoration, accompanied by certain unmistakable motives of Asiatic iconography such as the paralytic being lowered through the roof (Fig. 33). These scenes retain the characteristics of the sixth-century Asiatic miniatures of the Rossano and Sinope Gospels, most convincing in the pose, movement, and gesture of Christ. The descriptive labels are in Greek, beginning with *ἐνθα*.³⁶ The translation of *ἐνθα* into "ubi" is perhaps emblematic of the difference between the pure Asiatic style of S. Saba and its reflection in the St. Quiricus series.³⁷

The frescoes of the left chapel therefore appear to be the work of several hands with different training; but some connection with the painters of John VII is indicated, and there is a sharp return to the Roman manner in the donor scenes of Theodotus.

On the left wall of the nave a series of Old Testament scenes (Fig. 34) displays a style which differs both from the St. Quiricus series and from the gospel scenes in the sanctuary. These also suggest a manuscript source but their version is Roman, as is clear from the round eyes and clumsy proportions, giving the impression of awkward children.³⁸ Their late classical character is more apparent when compared with the competent drawing of the figures of Christ and saints below (Fig. 34). Here we meet for the first time in this church a composition dominated by the Asiatic style, expert in the regularity and symmetry of its patterns and its admirably repeated designs. In contrast to the

³³The inscription EVGAGELISTA, showing ignorant transliteration of the Greek nasal, points to a Roman copyist. Professor Morey (in his article in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, p. 37 n. 3) has noted the similar mistake of *Λογισ* in the Rabula miniature, indicating that it is itself a copy.

³⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁵V. Schultze, *Die Quedlinburger Itala-miniaturen der königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin*, pl. 3.

³⁶On the derivation of the Asiatic style from Greek art see Professor Morey's article in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, p. 36.

³⁷The action of the soldier in "smashing" St. Quiricus to the ground is the characteristic motive in Professor Smith's Provençal type of the Massacre of the

Innocents (Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, p. 241; see also p. 88 of his article in *Art Studies* above referred to (p. 136, note 22). What connection these scenes may have with the Early Christian examples from Provence and with the rediscovery in the second half of the eighth century of the relics of St. Quiricus (St. Cyr) at Auxerre (*Petits Bollandistes*, 7, p. 74) is still to be explained. Rushforth (*op. cit.*, pp. 44-45) calls attention to the growing intimacy between Rome and the Frankish kings in the time of Pope Zacharias and the journey of his successor to France.

³⁸Cf. the Latin style of the Codex Romanus (reproduced in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 36).

Latin inscriptions of the Roman narrative scenes above, these inscriptions are in Greek.

The parallel here is close with the eighth-century decoration by the Basilian monks at S. Saba, the figure style of which is preserved in several heads, of which Fig. 35 shows the characteristic truncated oval face, the line formula of the features, and the white woolly hair and beard. These heads and another fragment showing the lower edge of a similar row of standing figures above a dado of painted hangings (Fig. 34) carries the resemblance to S. Maria Antiqua very far. It is a reasonable conjecture that this fine piece of decoration in the nave of S. Maria Antiqua was painted by men trained by the monks of S. Saba.³⁹ In the same style is the well preserved head of St. Abbacyrus in a niche in the atrium.⁴⁰

The latest fresco that can be dated in the church (Fig. 8), the scene in the atrium with Pope Hadrian I (772-93), returns again to the theme of Maria Regina. The figures are stiffly frontal and are spread out in Asiatic style, but there is perhaps a pale reflection of the old traditions in the church for plastic form and flowing line, which give some vitality to the scene.

It appears, therefore, that the changes indicated in the five layers of the sanctuary correspond with the rest of the decorations. They show that after the earliest decorations in the local Roman style of the sixth century, the church was repainted by a group of painters of entirely different training, conceptions, and technique. To their hands may be ascribed, besides the Annunciation of the sanctuary, the earlier of the two Annunciations on the pier in the nave and the group of the Maccabees. This style is Greek, with illusionistic qualities and Greek inscriptions. Painters trained in these traditions continued to work in the church at least as late as the time of John VII and by their side, in the decoration of John VII, were local Roman painters, acquainted with the linear (Asiatic) tradition. By the middle of the eighth century the church had passed back into the hands of Roman painters, some of whom show training by skilled Asiatic artists. The Greek style lingered in a few details and gradually faded out.

If it is admitted that the style of the second layer of frescoes is Greek and an intrusion from outside into the normal development of art in Rome from the sixth to the eighth century, its source must be sought in some still active center of Greek civilization where the traditions and methods of painting were long established and still vigorous. This leads to the East, for the Barbarian invasions in Europe and northwestern Africa had violently interrupted the established Hellenism of the West; and in the East, as Strzygowski has shown, Persian and Mesopotamian influences had prevented the spread of Hellenistic art much beyond the Mediterranean littoral.⁴¹ Our quest, therefore, can be limited to ancient Greek centers established on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, in other words, to the old Hellenic towns and the Hellenistic cities of Antioch and Alexandria.

It would be impossible, with the comparatively small amount of preserved material known to be from these centers, to choose convincingly among them, were it not for the iconography, which provides important clues.⁴² It becomes apparent first of all that some of the iconography in the church is unusual at this time in Italy, which accords with the

³⁹Rushforth, *op. cit.*, p. 32, n. 1.

⁴⁰Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 196.

⁴¹Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art: new facts and principles of research*, tr. by O. M. Dalton and H. J. Braunholtz, 1923. This is the most recent statement of Prof. Strzygowski's theories.

⁴²It would have been a task of years to collect these, except with the help of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, the Early Christian section of which, though not yet complete, now includes so many important publications

that conclusions may be drawn even if some modification should be necessary as new entries are made. I take this opportunity to express my grateful appreciation first of the Index itself and the enormous and exacting work it represents and second of the courtesy of those in charge of it, in transcribing and sending entries to me.

In the classification of material I have followed that of Professor Smith as given in his *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*.



FIG. 30—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: DONOR KNEELING BEFORE ST. QUIRICUS
AND ST. JULITTA ON ENTRANCE WALL OF LEFT CHAPEL

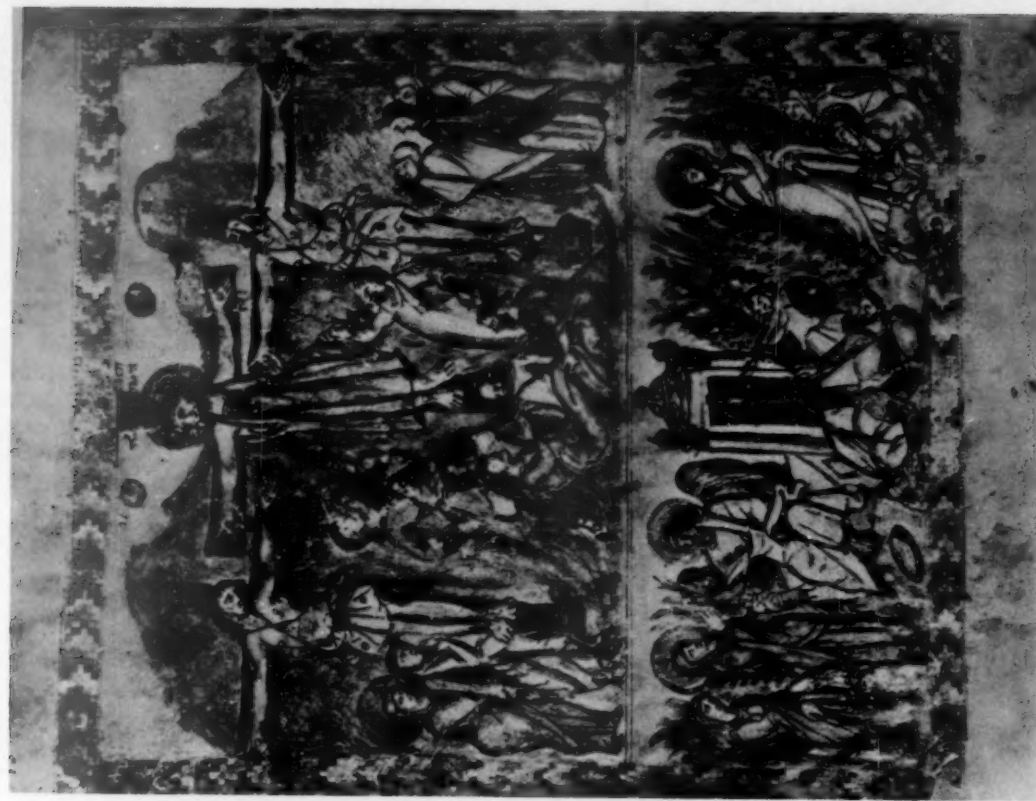


FIG. 31—FLORENCE, BIBL. LAURENZIANA: RABULA GOSPEL. CRUCIFIXION

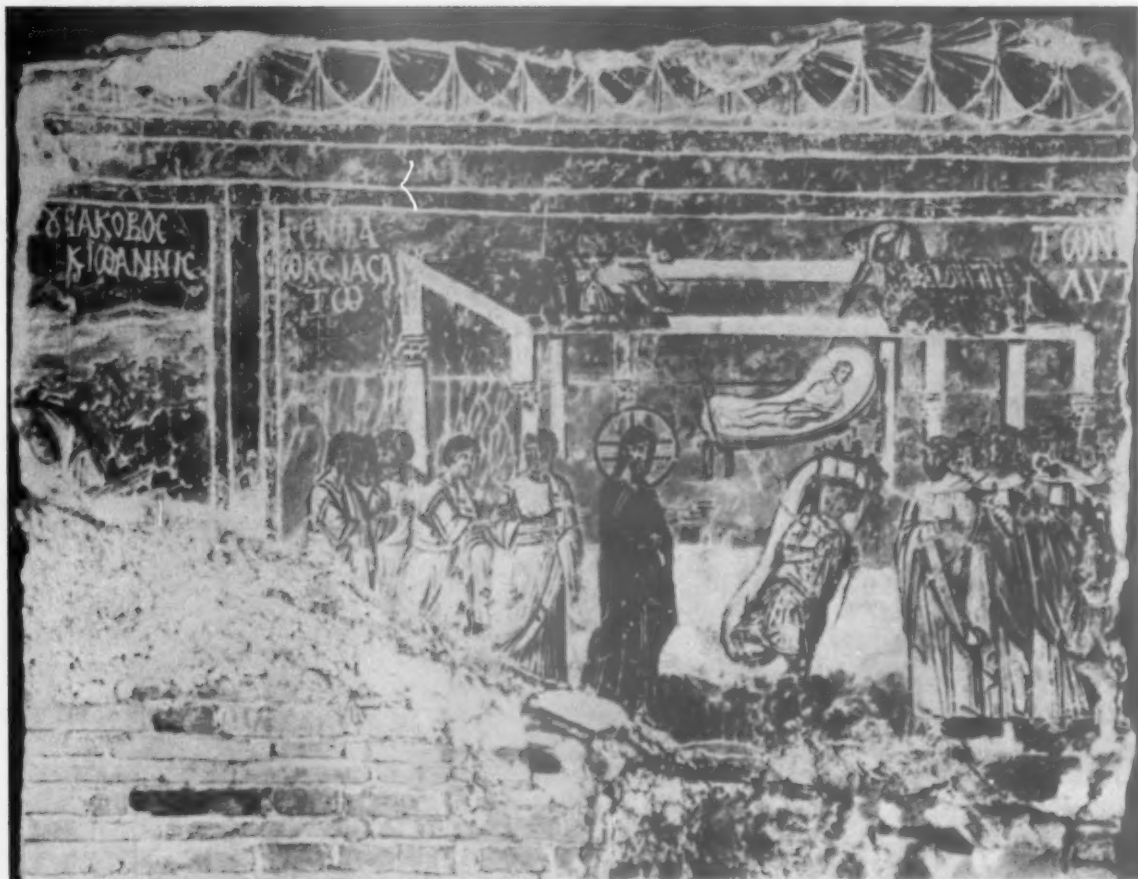


FIG. 82—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: SCENES FROM LIFE OF ST. QUIRICUS
ON RIGHT WALL OF LEFT CHAPEL



FIG. 83—ROME, S. SABA: HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC

theory that the style also is a stranger in Rome. A very uncommon scene is that of the Maccabees (Fig. 24), though the cult of these proto-martyrs was well established in the early church with fêtes in the East and in Africa and churches known to have been dedicated to them at Antioch and Constantinople.⁴³ Their sufferings formed the topic of numerous homilies by the early fathers, among which the description of St. Gregory Nazianzen outdid the author of IV Maccabees in gruesome details.

The subject does not appear at all in the Early Christian section of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, except in Cabrol's conjectural interpretation of the seven figures in the fire, on the fifth-century Brescia casket, assigned by Strzygowski to Asia Minor.⁴⁴ The interpretation is dubious, first, because the martyrdoms were only partly by fire, but, principally, because the mother is not represented, though the emphasis is so largely on her in Early Christian writing, where she is compared to the Mother of Sorrows. It is, therefore, unnecessary to consider it except to point out the contrast between this realistic treatment of a martyrdom and that at S. Maria Antiqua. The early date of the casket restrains its expression of the didactic purpose which in later Asiatic miniatures developed into such circumstantial renderings as those of the ninth-century manuscript of the sermon by St. Gregory Nazianzen above-mentioned.⁴⁵ In this a full page in nine compartments shows the particular suffering of each of the nine martyrs with a different selection of horrors corresponding neither with the author nor with the apocryphal texts. The contrast between this miniature and the idealistic conception of the scene at S. Maria Antiqua emphasizes the difference not only of date but even more of provenance. The reason for the unpopularity of realistic martyrdoms in the earliest Christian art was because that art was still Hellenistic while the narrative and descriptive character of the Paris miniature is Asiatic. Nothing could be more Greek than the fine idealization of the theme at S. Maria Antiqua.

The source of the story is almost surely Alexandrian, for critics generally accept both II and IV Maccabees as products of Alexandrian philosophy and culture and both books are included in most manuscripts of the Septuagint.⁴⁶ It must be observed, however, that the early church shifted the scene of the martyrdom of the mother and her sons to Antioch (though there is nothing in the texts to indicate any place but Jerusalem) and ascribed IV Maccabees to Josephus. It was, however, one of the ancient fêtes of the Coptic church⁴⁷ and was included in the calendar of the church of Carthage.⁴⁸ Without further evidence, therefore, conclusions as to the provenance of this scene must be drawn from its style and conception.

The Descent into Limbus is rare in art before the ninth century, but it occurs twice in this church, once on the right wall of the passage to the ramp leading to the Palatine and again near the entrance to the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs (Figs. 27 and 36). The theory, based on style, that these frescoes belong to the decoration of John VII is supported by the appearance and similar treatment of the scene in the chapel of John VII in Old St. Peter's.⁴⁹ The only other existing early representation of the scene recorded is on one of the ciborium columns of St. Mark's (sixth century), but Wilpert believes the subject formed part of the earliest decorations at St. Peter's and the Lateran, differing, there-

⁴³Also, according to Martigny, at Lyons (*Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*, s. v. *Machabées*). The cult was popular in the North in the later Middle Ages and Erasmus says their relics were brought by St. Helen to Byzantium, thence later to Milan, and lastly to Cologne, in 1164. According to Cardinal Rampolla, an inscription formerly in St. Peter-in-Chains records that their relics were placed under the altar in that church by the sixth-century pope, Pelagius. (*Apocrypha*, ed. R. H. Charles, II, p. 671.)

⁴⁴*Kleinasien*, p. 213.

⁴⁵Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 510.

⁴⁶*Apocrypha*, ed. Charles, I, pp. vii, viii, 128; II, p. 654. See also articles on the Maccabees in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in the Jewish and Catholic encyclopedias.

⁴⁷Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

⁴⁸Martigny, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹As shown in the seventeenth-century drawing of Grimaldi (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, p. 390, fig. 128).

fore, from the usual opinion that its origin is eastern. His argument, based on the seventeenth-century sketches of Ciampini and Grimaldi, some stucco restorations, and literary evidence, presents an interesting possibility which, however, awaits confirmation.⁵⁰ Baumstark considers the subject Palestinian, in view of a record of the scene in the Martyrion at Jerusalem.⁵¹ Grüneisen follows Strzygowski in believing in an Egyptian derivation and compares the attitude of Christ to the striding figure of Rameses II as Conqueror from a relief at Abu Simbel.⁵² The resemblance is striking and adds another interesting theory. But, meanwhile, the provenance of the scene remains in doubt.

The *Via Crucis* (Fig. 15) also is not very common at this time, but in this church it was used at least twice, for it obviously formed one of a series on an earlier layer, of which the only recognizable detail is the very unusual one of three crosses being borne to Calvary.⁵³ I know of no other example of the use of this motive.

The cross carried by Simon, instead of by Christ, as in the scene of the sanctuary, occurs on sarcophagi of columnar (that is, Asiatic)⁵⁴ form (two and a doubtful fragment in Gaul and one in the Lateran) and in the mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, where it is combined with the Asiatic details of the bearded Christ with broad-banded nimbus; it appears also on the doors of S. Sabina (of uncertain provenance) but with the peculiarity that Simon follows Christ.⁵⁵ This iconography, together with the slight tendency to frontality noted above, implies some Asiatic influence in this scene.

The other gospel scene in the sanctuary, however, the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 14), clearly belongs to the Alexandrian-Coptic type, having its "chief characteristic . . . the angel, who standing between the Virgin and the first Magus points out the Child to the advancing Wise Men. The Virgin . . . sits in a three-quarters position . . . the Magi are . . . advancing in a line . . . Behind the Virgin's cathedra is Joseph."⁵⁶ In this scene, then, we have a consistent Hellenistic style combined with typical Alexandrian-Coptic iconography.

It is, therefore, significant that the only preserved Nativity in the Church, on the right wall of the nave (Fig. 38), has the peculiarly Alexandrian-Coptic detail of Salome extending her withered arm in supplication to the Virgin. What remains of the rest of the scene accords exactly with the type: "The Christ Child, wrapped like a mummy, lies on a stone or brick crib . . . the Virgin reclines on a mattress."⁵⁷ The only missing details (the ox and the ass above the crib, and Joseph) should appear where the plaster is now also missing. Above the crib is the eight-rayed star, as in the scene on the chair of Maximianus.⁵⁸

Three other scenes may be identified in this sadly destroyed series and of these, two must be included among the still unsolved iconographic problems of this church. Of the two Magi scenes at the right of the Nativity, the first depicts the Wise Men (labeled in Greek) on their way with gifts. The attitude of the youngest Magus suggests some confusion with the Provençal theme of the Appearance of the Star, but the gesture here is not one of pointing but of address. It is one of the early examples of the expansion of the story of the Magi, which became so popular in the later Middle Ages.⁵⁹

⁵⁰Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 887ff.

⁵¹*Römische Quartalschrift*, XX, p. 125.

⁵²Grüneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte*, p. 70, and Strzygowski, *Catalogue . . . du musée du Caire, Koptische Kunst*, p. XVIII.

⁵³The earlier scene is on the opposite wall and is entirely lost except for the three crosses. There were apparently two layers earlier than that of John VII, one with scenes divided by one red bar, the other by double red bars. The scene with the three crosses belongs to the series with two bars but it is not clear which of these is

earlier.

⁵⁴Morey, *Sardis*, V, 1, p. 95.

⁵⁵In the Cambridge Gospels Simon follows Christ and assists Him in carrying the cross. See the discussion of this subject by Professor Smith in his article in *Art Studies*, 1924, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁶Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁸A. Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 299.

⁵⁹Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France; XIII century*, pp. 212ff.

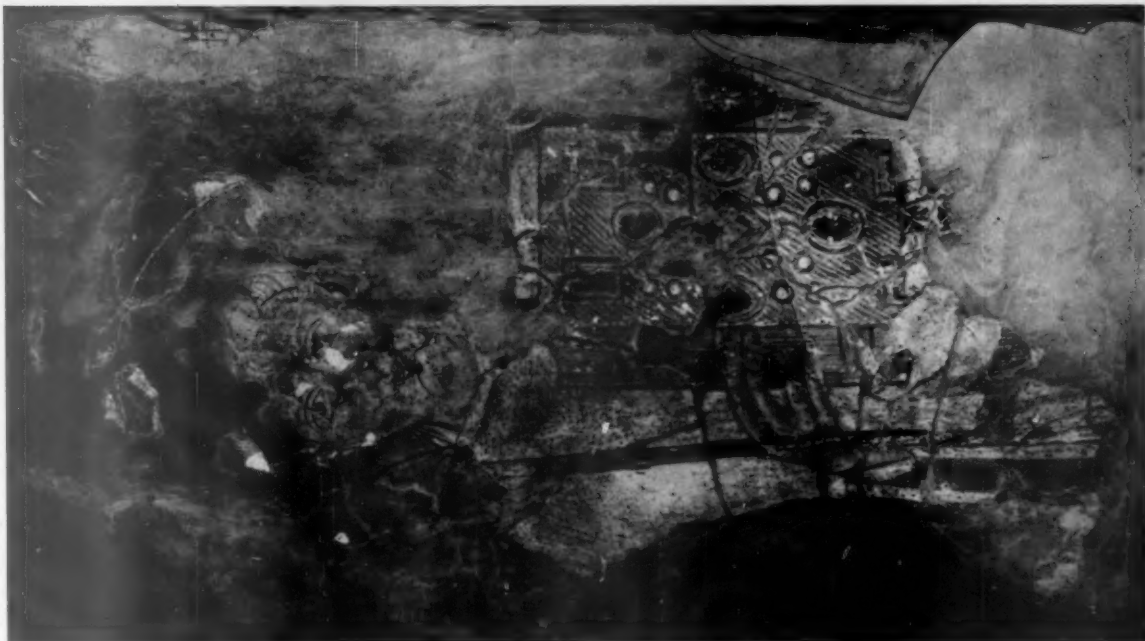


FIG. 35—ROME, S. SABA: ST. LAWRENCE

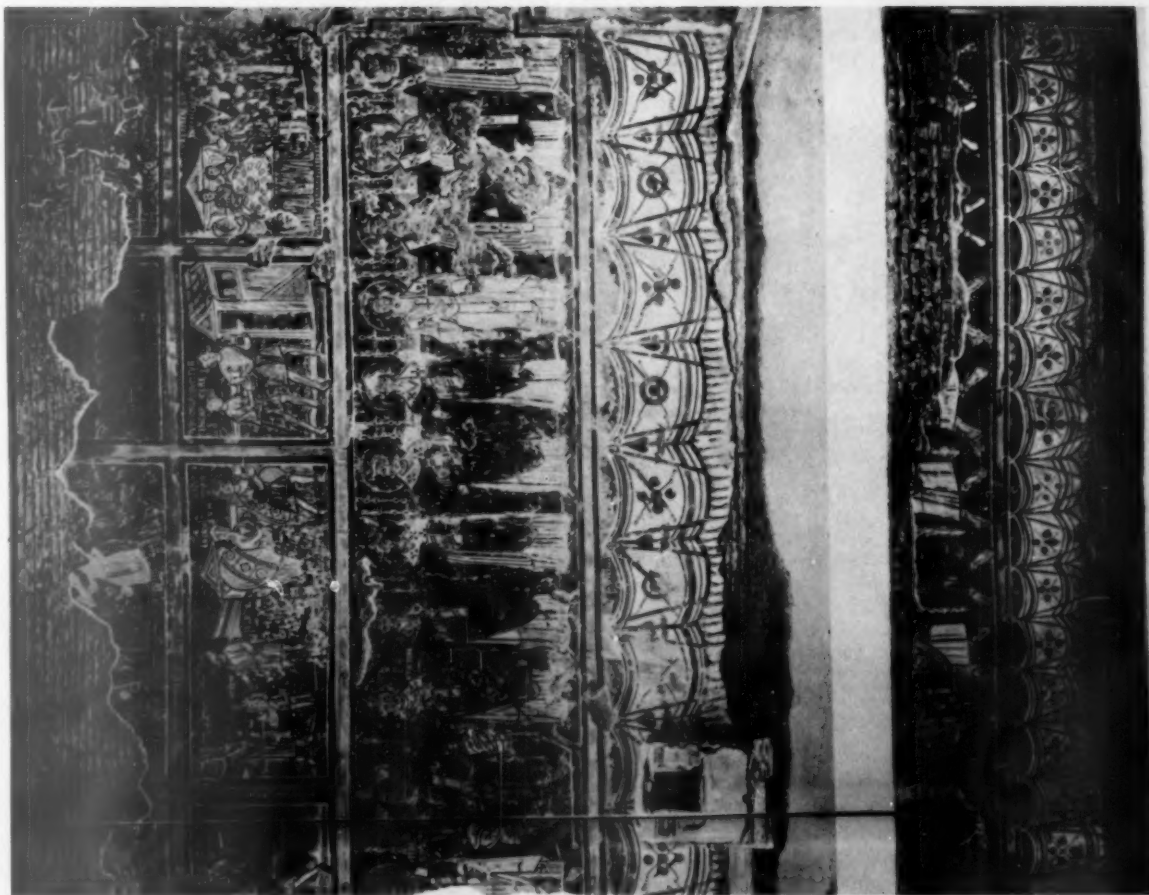


FIG. 34 — ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: OLD TESTAMENT SCENES; CHRIST WITH SAINTS. S. SABA: LOWER PART OF ROW OF SAINTS



FIG. 36—ROME, S. MARIA ANTI-
QUA: DESCENT INTO LIMBUS ON
WALL NEAR ENTRANCE TO CHAP-
EL OF THE FORTY MARTYRS



FIG. 37—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: THREE HOLY MOTHERS
IN NICHE OF RIGHT WALL OF NAVE



FIG. 38—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: RIGHT WALL OF NAVE

The third scene, directly above the Nativity, represents the meeting of Joachim and Anne, each labeled.⁶⁰ The meager fragments provide no evidence as to whether or not the episode was here localized at the Golden Gate, but in the only other recorded example that is possibly early, the rear columns of the ciborium at St. Mark's, the parents of the Virgin embrace at a later stage of the story.⁶¹ The use of this rare subject, combined with the introduction of the effigy of St. Anne in the sanctuary (Fig. 19) and again in a group with the Virgin and St. Elizabeth (Fig. 37) in a niche of the right wall of the nave, indicates a devotion to the mother of the Virgin quite unexpected in Rome and the West until much later.⁶²

In the group of the Three Holy Mothers the Virgin holds the Christ Child in a mandorla (Fig. 37). This type (Blacherniotissa) seems to be Egyptian, since, except in a seventh-century lead seal at Carthage and on three gold objects of uncertain provenance, it is recorded in the Early Christian section of the Princeton Index only in a fresco at Bawit and in a miniature of Coptic style in the Etschmiadzin Gospels, with possibly one other example among the injured fragments at Deir Abou Hennis (Antinoë).

Another Egyptian practice is the use of the monogrammatic label for the Virgin which is found on a narrow strip of wall on the pier across the aisle above what was perhaps a small altar (Fig. 39). The Egyptian preference for 'H ἁγία Μαρία instead of MP ΘΥ is explained by Monophysite prejudice. Dalton cites its use in the fifth-century Coptic manuscript of the World Chronicle in the Golenishev Collection at Leningrad and again in the church at El Hadra by the Natron lakes.⁶³ The Index records it also in the catacombs of Alexandria and as MAPIA, alone, at Bagawat. In a monogrammatic form similar to that at S. Maria Antiqua it is found twice at Bawit and also on the Trivulzio ivory of the Annunciation, classed by its style with the Alexandrian group.⁶⁴

The Healing of the Blind (Fig. 40) follows Egyptian ivories in showing a single blind man of small stature,⁶⁵ and the seated Virgin in the two Annunciations on the pier adds an Alexandrian-Coptic detail.⁶⁶ If Wilpert has correctly restored the Virgin as seated in the Annunciation of the second layer,⁶⁷ this is a third instance of Alexandrian practice, and here the angel, more true to type, approaches from the right.⁶⁸ Added to these are

⁶⁰Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 711.

⁶¹Ongania, *op. cit.*, I, p. 282. Professor John Shapley, of New York University, who is now occupied in a study of these columns, says he is "tending toward the opinion that the rear columns, as well as those in front, are early and eastern." See also p. 133, note 16.

⁶²There is some documentary evidence that a basilica dedicated to St. Anne existed in Jerusalem before the Moslem occupation in the seventh century (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et des liturgie*, I², s. v. Anne (Sainte)). At Constantinople a church was dedicated to this saint by Justinian about 550, and it is generally accepted, though on faulty textual evidence, that Justinian II made a new dedication in her honor (Cabrol, *op. cit.*). H. M. Bannister (*Introduction of the Cultus of St. Anne into the West*, in *English Historical Review*, 18, 1903, pp. 107-112) notes that during the probable date of the consecration Pope Constantine was the guest of the emperor at Constantinople and on his return to Rome in 711 may have brought back relics of the saint and entrusted the painting of her effigy in the sanctuary to "the same artist who had been employed by John VII." While this theory is not supported, in my opinion, by the style of the sanctuary figure, it might explain the appearance of St. Anne in the niche with the three Holy Mothers (Fig. 37). It is to be noted that the name of St. Anne is again associated with that of St. Elizabeth when they head the list of relics conserved at S. Angelo in

Pescheria at the time of its restoration by Theodotus, the donor in the left chapel. It is recorded also that Pope Leo III (795-816) presented to S. Maria ad Praesepe a vestment the embroideries of which included Joachim and Anne (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 2, p. 9). The scenes at S. Maria Antiqua are, however (excluding as eastern the ciborium columns), the first known representations of St. Anne in the West, where the cult remained little known till the later Middle Ages, when it was adopted by French Gothic sculptors and glass painters, especially after the head of St. Anne was brought to Chartres from Constantinople in 1205. The fête was included, however, in no western calendar until 1382, when Richard II of England married Anne of Brittany, and Pope Urban VI ordered its annual celebration. (Cabrol, I², col. 2165.)

⁶³*Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 674.

⁶⁴A silver ring in the Forrer collection at Strassburg also contains the inscription 'H ἁγία Μαρία. The Latin form, Maria, is recorded only on five gold glasses and a glass cup in Italy, and in a graffito at St. Maximin, Tarascon.

⁶⁵Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* . . . , pp. 94, 98.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁶⁷*Op. cit.*, IV, pl. 207.

⁶⁸Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* . . . , p. 172.

many minor details that are familiar in Egyptian decoration: the equestrian figure recalling, especially in the trappings of the horse, the saints riding down personified vices;⁶⁹ the fragment of Daniel with one of his lions turning backward (Fig. 41), like the scene on the Menas pyxis in the British Museum;⁷⁰ the colors of the garments, their shape and ornament; all these are memory pictures of the monasteries and ateliers of the Nile.⁷¹

In the Hezekiah scene (Fig. 26) the figure standing behind the bed is described by Rushforth, writing in 1902, as "a small beardless figure in white, apparently with a cruciform nimbus and holding what may be a cross-staff."⁷² Wilpert rejects this, interpreting the figure as a short-haired and beardless servant.⁷³ But the official photograph shows plainly the nimbus and the cross staff. If, therefore, Rushforth is further right in seeing a cruciform nimbus in the fragments of lines which certainly are visible above and beside the head, we have in this figure the typically Alexandrian and Coptic short-haired beardless Christ carrying a scepter cross. His appearance in this Old Testament scene is thoroughly in accord with well-known Alexandrian allegorical methods of teaching the harmony between the Old and New Law.

The choice of saints is also noticeably eastern, many of them being unusual in Early Christian art, and the Princeton Index shows that most of them were popular in Egypt.⁷⁴ St. Barbara is not recorded in the first six Christian centuries by the Index; St. Demetrius except in his church at Thessalonica is recorded only at S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, and on a gold ring in the Franks Collection in the British museum; the surprising appearance in the West at this time of St. Anne has been discussed.⁷⁵

St. Elizabeth in the Visitation and other narrative scenes is frequent, but the most detailed cycle of her life is at Deir Abu Hennis (Antinoë). With the Virgin and Child as here, she occurs only in the Golenishev World Chronicle, the miniatures of which are Coptic of the fifth century.

St. John the Baptist, who is introduced at the side of Christ with the Virgin, on the inner left pier opposite the sanctuary, was also popular in Egypt. He appears in a fresco in the Alexandrian catacombs, on the chair of Maximianus, and at the White Convent near Sohag. Except in Egypt and in baptism scenes, he is found elsewhere only on a crown in the cathedral at Monza and in the seventh-century mosaic of S. Venanzio in Rome.

The Alexandrian medical saint, Abbacyrus, is represented four times in the church, twice with his friend and fellow-countryman, John.⁷⁶ In the right chapel, where the preference for medical saints is so marked that Wilpert has called it the Chapel of the Physicians, Sts. Cosmas and Damian are linked with Abbacyrus in two of its three remaining groups, once with and once without John. The only legible names of the third group (Fig. 18) are those of St. Panteleemon, the celebrated physician of Nicomedia, and Dometis, identified as Dometios, the Persian monk and healer martyred under Julian the Apostate.⁷⁷ Of these, Dometios is recorded elsewhere in the Index only at Deir Abu Hennis, where, in an almost ruined group of twelve saints, his name appears next to those of Sts. Cosmas

⁶⁹As St. Sisinnios lancing a demon in the form of a woman (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Baoult*). Cf. the Barberini ivory in the Louvre (Ch. Diehl, *Justinian*, frontispiece). See also O. M. Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeology*, p. 211 and n. 2, referring to Strzygowski's article, *Der Koptische Reiterheilige*.

⁷⁰Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 113.

⁷¹Jean Clédat, *loc. cit.*; J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1911.

⁷²*Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷³*Op. cit.*, II, p. 695, and IV, pl. 178.

⁷⁴The superior preservation of material in Egypt is

of course recognized.

⁷⁵P. 143 and n. 62.

⁷⁶The cult of these saints was already established in Rome and their shrine at S. Passera on the Via Portuensis was probably early. The circumstances of the translation of their relics to Rome are uncertain (see Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome*, pp. 55f.; Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, pp. 179f.; Sinthern in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXII, pp. 211f.).

⁷⁷*Anal. Bollandiana*, XIX, pp. 286-317; *Chronicon paschale* (in Migne, *Patrol. graec.*, xcii, col. 745).



FIG. 39—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: VIRGIN WITH MONOGRAM ON RIGHT OUTER PIER (the monogram has been strengthened in the reproduction)

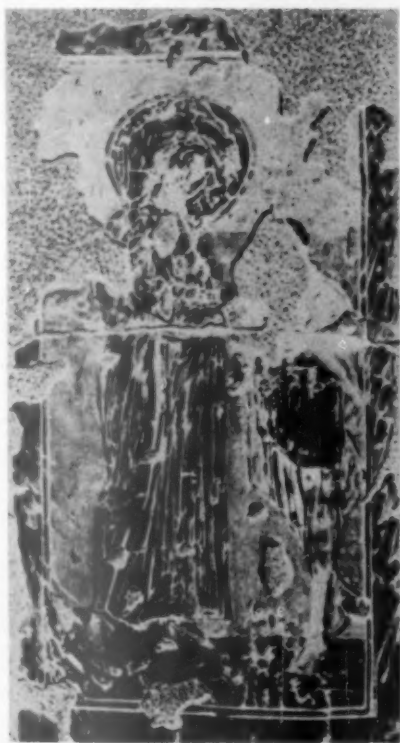


FIG. 40 — ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: HEALING OF THE BLIND ON ROUND PIER AT LEFT

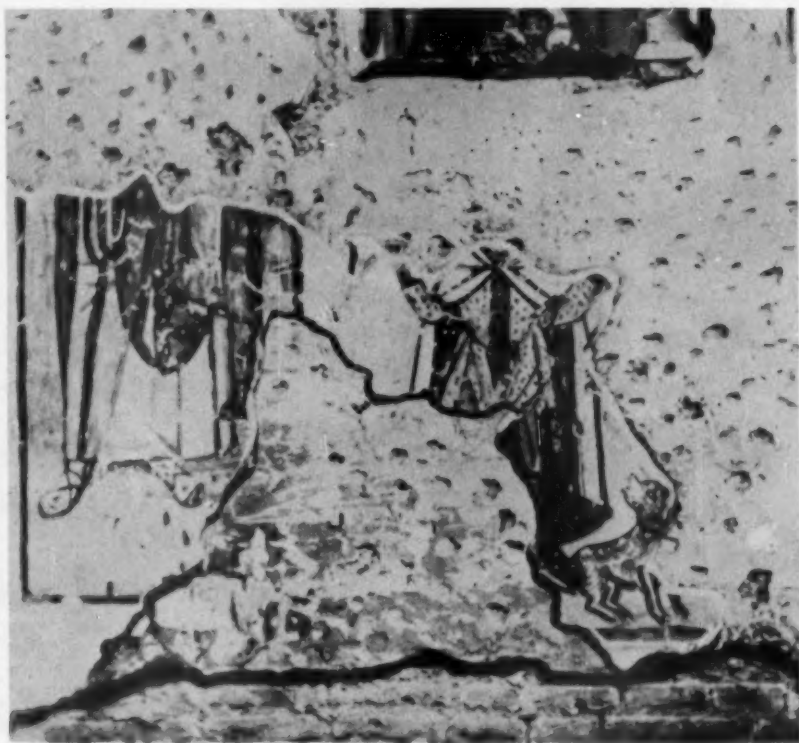


FIG. 41—ROME, S. MARIA ANTICUA: DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN



FIG. 42—ROME, VATICAN: JOSHUA ROTULUS. CARRYING THE ARK OVER JORDAN



FIG. 43—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GR. 189. PSALTER. PRAYER OF ISAIAH

and Damian;⁷⁸ and St. Panteleemon is as yet recorded in the Early Christian period only at S. Maria Antiqua. The other legible names in this chapel are Kelsos, Prokopios, and Stephanos.⁷⁹

Among all these, the recurrence of the Alexandrian saints, Abbacyrus and John, is noteworthy. Kelsos was martyred in Egypt.⁸⁰ St. Prokopios is recorded only in a marble fragment from Tinnis in the Cairo Museum. Sts. Cosmas and Damian are recorded by the Index in four frescoes in Egypt: in the catacombs of Alexandria, at Deir Abou Hennis, at Bawit, and in a Coptic fresco from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum; besides these, the two have as yet been found only at St. Demetrius, Thessalonica; in two Ravennate mosaics;⁸¹ and in their Roman church. St. Stephen is represented at Rome in the mosaic at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, in a fresco in the Catacomb of Commodilla, and on a silver casket and gold glasses in the Vatican; besides these, he is as yet recorded only in Egypt: in a fresco in the Monastery of the Martyrs near Esneh, and (by name only) in a lost fresco at Deir-el-Dik.⁸²

This completes the list of identified saints among the frescoes belonging to the stranger style.⁸³ Their presence can certainly not be safely adduced as proof for provenance, but the choice of Egyptian martyrs and the peculiar popularity of nearly all of them in the art of Early Christian Egypt need not be ignored. Combined with the Alexandrian-Coptic iconography of the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the seated Virgin in the Annunciation, the Coptic cross staff, and the peculiarly Egyptian appellation of 'H ἁγία Μαρία, the list points insistently toward the region of the Nile. The few indications of iconography of other localities are disintegrated and insignificant in comparison. Since Egyptian iconography is united with Hellenistic style, only one source is indicated, Alexandria.

A comparison of the frescoes with the manuscripts and ivories isolated by Professor Morey as Alexandrian shows that the parallels in iconography are amply supported by similarities in style. The Barberini ivory,⁸⁴ the chair of Maximianus,⁸⁵ the illuminations of the Joshua Rotulus,⁸⁶ and the Paris Psalter (Gr. 139)⁸⁷ abound in figures like those in the three Annunciations, the Maccabees, the Adoration of the Magi, *Via Crucis*, and the scene above the apse in the sanctuary. They show, surprisingly, the same figure style with its dependence on light and shade; the characteristic sweep of line in lively movement; the varied gestures; drapery emphasizing the slenderness and agility of the forms; the suggestions of landscape background (though naturally carried much farther in the manuscripts). Even the mannerisms are found, incipient in the ivories but fully established in the manuscripts: the "clubfoot;" the rounded contour of the shoulders; and the peculiar use of three lines to outline the end of nose, mouth, and the indentation of the chin (Figs.

⁷⁸*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 2 (1902), p. 51. The author of this description (Clédat) did not recognize a monk in the injured figure of Dometios and associated the name with two bishops of the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. Grüneisen (*op. cit.*, p. 524) notes that early synaxaria appear to confuse two fourth-century saints of the name. However, the Persian monk is connected with miracles of healing (n. 75) and one of the Bollandist documents relates that he visited the sanctuary of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Cyrrhus (*Anal. Boll.*, XI X, p. 307).

⁷⁹The full story of the relations of Rome with the East, including Coptic Egypt, is still to be written, but that they were close in the seventh and eighth centuries is now generally accepted. The eighth-century list of relics at S. Angelo in Pescheria already referred to as headed by the names of Sts. Anne and Elizabeth (p. 143, n. 62) includes also: Stephanus, Kelsus, Abbaquirus, Johannes, Dometius, Procopius, Pantaleon, Cosmas,

Damianus. The coincidence of these names with those at S. Maria Antiqua and the fact that the donor, Theodotus, was the restorer at S. Angelo are not yet explained.

⁸⁰See Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 534-535, on the martyrdom of St. Kelsos at Antinoë.

⁸¹One of these is now in Berlin.

⁸²A scene of the stoning of Stephen is mentioned by St. Augustine but without provenance (Cabrol, I, col. 437 and n. 4).

⁸³The St. Quiricus series does not belong to the style. If it was part of the decoration of John VII it indicates the employment of artists influenced by Asiatic traditions.

⁸⁴Charles Diehl, *Justinian* (frontispiece).

⁸⁵A. Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, figs. 283-307.

⁸⁶*Il Rotulo di Giosue*, Vatican ed., 1905.

⁸⁷Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. I-XIV.

1, 11, and 13), which becomes a distinguishing mark of the Rotulus (Fig. 42). The over-emphasis on the outline of one leg under the drapery, as in the figure of Christ in the Healing of the Blind (Fig. 40), is a frequent mannerism of the chair of Maximianus.⁸⁸

The pose of the angel of the earlier Annunciation and of the blind boy on the piers, with leg bent sharply at the knee, is an inheritance from Greek vase painting, going back to Brygos.⁸⁹ The particular form in which it appears on the piers, with one foot pulled up close behind the other, is a common formula in the Alexandrian group for figures in repose, occurring on the Barberini ivory and several times on the chair. Perhaps there is reminiscence of an Alexandrian original of the Vienna Genesis⁹⁰ in the Hezekiah scene, for the king turns his face to the wall with the curious revolving movement of Joseph in the dream scenes.⁹¹

The face of the Virgin of the second layer, fuller around the chin than the angel's, is characteristic of the chair of Maximianus and is noticeable in the two principal figures of the Barberini ivory. It is frequent also in the Joshua Rotulus; but even more common there, as also in the Paris Psalter, are heads like those of the angel. One of these is the head of Moses from the Paris Psalter.⁹² It shows the delicate modelling under the chin, the firm, straight nose, the turn of the head, the shadowed forehead as parts of a common inheritance. The alert figures of the Magi (Fig. 14) are akin to the swiftly moving forms of the Joshua Rotulus (Fig. 42) and there is the same easy swinging gait in the group in the Red Sea scene of the Psalter.⁹² Simon of Cyrene (Fig. 15) forges ahead under his burden like many of Joshua's men (Fig. 42). The mother of the Maccabees (Fig. 24) displays the proportions and fine dignity of the figure of Nux in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 43) though without the freedom of movement belonging to the narrative style of the Psalter. The other Maccabees equally resemble figures of the Psalter and of the Rotulus: there is the same easy inclination of the heads, the soft treatment of the hair, the naturalistic fall of drapery and a common mastery of functional line.

The interest in rendering child forms is no less significant. The youngest of the Maccabees (Fig. 25) like the little figure of Dawn in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 43) goes back to Hellenistic prototypes. The tuft of hair at the side of the forehead of the second youngest of the Maccabees (Fig. 25) is another mannerism, which may be seen also in the head of Dawn (Fig. 43), in the standing Hezekiah,⁹³ and elsewhere in the Psalter.

These parallels have convinced me that there is a large group of scenes in S. Maria Antiqua bound together by style, iconography, and specific mannerisms which ally them with the Alexandrian group of manuscripts and ivories.

These scenes are:⁹⁴

1. The Annunciation of the second layer (Figs. 1 and 2) (Pl. 135) (G. XLIXA).
2. The earlier Annunciation on the pier (Fig. 23) (Pl. 143¹) (G. XIXA).
3. The Maccabees (Figs. 24 and 25) (Pl. 163) (G. XVII).
4. Three Saints (on the right inner pier, facing the sanctuary) (Pl. 145²).
5. Church Fathers of Martin I (Figs. 4 and 5) (Pl. 142).
6. Adoration of the Crucified (scene above the apse) (Fig. 11) (Pl. 155).
7. Second Annunciation on the pier (Fig. 22) (Pl. 144¹) (G. XIX).

⁸⁸The Art Bulletin, VII, 2, fig. 19.

⁸⁹From many examples one may select the boy drawn on a vase by Brygos in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (L. D. Caskey, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XIX, 1915, p. 134, fig. 4).

⁹⁰The Art Bulletin, VII, 2, p. 36, n. 4.

⁹¹Von Hartel and Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*,

pls. 28 and 29.

⁹²The Art Bulletin, VII, 2, fig. 27.

⁹³Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.

⁹⁴In this list, Pl. = colored plates in Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, IV; G = plates in Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*.

8. St. Anne (Fig. 19) (Pls. 159 and 160) (G. Liv; LXIX).
9. St. Demetrius (Fig. 20) (Pl. 144²) (G. XX).
10. St. Barbara (Fig. 21) (Pl. 164³) (G. XVIII).
11. Madonna enthroned between angels (over the Maccabees) (Pl. 166³).
12. Our Lord between the Virgin and St. John the Baptist (Pl. 145³).
13. Saints on entrance wall, Chapel of Physicians (Pl. 145¹).
14. Saints on right wall, Chapel of Physicians (Fig. 18) (Pl. 165) (G. LVI).
15. Forty Martyrs, Chapel of Forty Martyrs (Fig. 28) (Pl. 199).
16. Popes (John VII) (Figs. 16 and 17) (Pl. 154).
17. Church Fathers (John VII) (Fig. 2) (Pl. 133).
18. Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 14), (Pl. 161²).
19. *Via Crucis* (Fig. 15) (Pl. 162).
20. Medallions with heads of apostles (Fig. 12) (Pls. 157 and 158).
21. David and Goliath (Fig. 26) (Pl. 178).
22. Hezekiah (Fig. 26) (Pl. 178) (G. LV).
23. Judith and Holofernes (Pl. 161¹).
24. Equestrian figure (Pl. 178) (G. XVI).
25. Fragment (Pl. 178).
26. Healing of Blind Man (Fig. 40) (Pl. 164¹).
27. Madonna and Child with saints and angels (passage to ramp) (Pl. 168¹).
28. Limbus, passage to ramp (Fig. 27) (Pl. 168²).
29. Limbus, near entrance to Chapel of Forty Martyrs (Fig. 36) (Pl. 167¹).
30. Saints in niche, Chapel of Physicians (Pl. 145⁴).
31. Nativity and other gospel scenes on right wall of nave (Fig. 38) (Pl. 194).
32. Three Holy Mothers (Fig. 37) (Pl. 194).
33. Virgin with monogram (Fig. 39) (Pl. 196²).
34. Daniel (Fig. 41) (Pl. 146²).
35. The Three Children in the Furnace (Pl. 146¹).

The résumé of the study of style⁹⁵ indicated that there were three degrees in the purity of the Greek tradition: 1, the pure Greek style, introduced by Alexandrian artists; 2, the derivative Greek style, by painters trained by the Alexandrians; 3, the mixture with elements from local Roman painting. According to this analysis, scenes 1-5 (from the list above) belong to the first group; scenes 6-15, to the second; and scenes 16-35, to the third.⁹⁶

The first two groups are closely connected by style and all the inscriptions are in

⁹⁵P. 140.

⁹⁶The classification above agrees in the main with the usually accepted dating. The important differences are in the St. Demetrius and the Maccabees. Wilpert associates the St. Demetrius with the first instead of the second Annunciation on the pier because of the use in both of short lines under the last letter of the inscription, but this slender criterion will certainly not hold in view of the frequent use of such lines in manuscripts.

He assigns the Maccabees to the decoration of John VII mainly because of a supposed similarity of the lettering in the labels of the Maccabees to that on the ambo of John VII (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 84). Wilpert also sees a resemblance between the letters YPII in the border of the scene of the Maccabees and those on the under layer of the apse (II, p. 680). But on p. 669 he suggests the possibility (from the character of these letters) that the under layer may belong to the period of Martin I.

The style of the scene above the apse implies an

earlier date than that of John VII, but I have accepted the general opinion that it is on the same layer as the row of popes below. It may be observed, however, that the iconography of the Crucified seems earlier than that of the eighth-century representation in the left chapel and than that in the sketch of John VII's mosaic at St. Peter's; and Professor Kirsopp Lake, of Harvard, finds nothing in the lettering of the scene to prevent its being as early as the middle of the seventh century. It may, therefore, be pointed out that the pope with square nimbus on the palimpsest wall is not surely John VII though he must be later than Martin I. H. M. Bannister, remarked in 1903 (*op. cit.*, p. 112, n. 13) that the record that John VII *pictura decoravit* is not inconsistent with his having begun in his short reign a decoration that was continued by his successors. While this is quite possible it seems even more likely that he continued a decoration which had been going on in the church for a long period, and that it included possibly the left chapel.

Greek. In the second group, headed by the Adoration of the Crucified (scene 6), the pose of the figures is less free, and mannerisms like the "clubfoot" appear. In some figures the drapery is stiff and lines are used to indicate folds. The mannerisms and other signs of disintegration correspond to a similar trend in the Alexandrian group of ivories and manuscripts.

The scenes of the third group are bound to the Alexandrian tradition either by the retention of the technique of light and shade or by iconography or both, but the labels are usually in Latin. Some of the scenes, as the Adoration of the Magi (scene 18), are very close to the Alexandrian group in both iconography and style, but the Latin labels and some coarse drawing betray the local Roman hand. In the medallions with the heads of the apostles (scene 20) line treatment has been applied to the modelling, producing a curious and not ineffective combination. In the group of saints in the niche of the Chapel of Physicians (scene 30) a marked intrusion of the linear style is combined with Greek inscriptions, but the lettering differs from that in the two other groups in the chapel (scenes 13 and 14) and seems like a copy. As the niche which these figures decorate was not part of the original building, it is possible that this group was transferred from an earlier series destroyed by the reconstruction.⁹⁷

This retention of Greek labels, together with illusionistic technique and Egyptian iconography, through a long series of frescoes in which the deterioration of the style and intrusion of other influences can be detected, indicates the existence in the church of a body of Alexandrian workmen, who trained assistants, who in turn trained others. Although, unhappily, nearly all the work of the original group is lost, the angel of the sanctuary (scene 1) remains to demonstrate its Hellenistic charm. The whole of the middle and right side of the church was painted by them or their followers, and indications that their work extended to the whole church have been pointed out.⁹⁸ The earliest paintings in the left chapel contain some echoes of their style,⁹⁹ as in the strongly Roman scene of the Crucifixion (Fig. 9), where it may be noted farther that the Virgin's title (Maria) points to Egyptian terminology. Even in the Asiatic rendering of the scenes from the life of St. Quiricus there is a definite indication of Alexandrian tradition in the "flying fold" (Fig. 32); and the completely Roman version of the Old Testament scenes on the left wall of the nave retains the Alexandrian forked stake in place of the gallows in the Joseph scene at the extreme right (Fig. 34). The pale reflection of the style in the scene in the atrium with Pope Hadrian I (Fig. 8) continues to use the old Egyptian title of Maria for the Virgin.

Whether this well established group of artists also decorated with mosaic John VII's chapel at Old St. Peter's cannot be determined from restored fragments, but the Grimaldi drawings preserve many details of Alexandrian iconography and show similarities to the frescoes at S. Maria Antiqua. Our knowledge of early decorations in Rome is also insufficient to show whether these artists worked in other churches, but some fragments in the lower church of S. Maria in Via Lata¹⁰⁰ suggest that this church may also have had some work by the gifted strangers. It might be expected that such a body of painters would be occupied in illuminating manuscripts, especially for the large and prosperous Greek colony at Rome. And here the possibility presents itself that the remarkable resemblances to the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Rotulus are to be explained by the production of these miniatures in this Alexandrian atelier.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷It may be noted (though I am not prepared to draw conclusions) that in the most purely Greek of the three groups of saints in the right chapel (scene 13) the labels are vertical; in the next group (scene 14) the labels are vertical and horizontal; and in the group which shows most clearly the encroachments of the local style the

labels are horizontal.

⁹⁸P. 138.

⁹⁹P. 139.

¹⁰⁰Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 177¹ and ².

¹⁰¹Against this theory is the fact that the Paris Psalter was bought in Constantinople by the French

The date of the arrival in Rome of these painters can be conjectured from the evidence of the frescoes. If the crowned Madonna was painted in the sixth century, it seems reasonable to assume a date in the first half of the seventh century for the Alexandrian Annunciation since it must be earlier than the layer of church fathers inserted, according to Wilpert, about 650. It was just at this time that life in Alexandria and its neighboring monasteries became most precarious, owing to "the hurricanes of conquest which swept over Egypt during the first half of the seventh century."¹⁰² The Persian invasion and the siege and capture of Alexandria in 617 were accompanied by fierce depredations, especially among the neighboring monasteries. Peace was scarcely established before the menace of the Moslem hordes again threatened those centers of artistic production and the Arab conquest of Alexandria about 641 brought to an end the long established Alexandrian leadership in Christian art.

The records of the time allude to the flight of individuals before these invasions,¹⁰³ and in the terms of the surrender of the city to the Arabs it was specified that the inhabitants might leave with their movable possessions. It is hardly to be doubted that some of these fugitives found their way to Rome and with them their books, for love of which the Alexandrians were so well known.

John Moschus, the Syrian, writing of his travels in Egypt in the early years of the seventh century, pleasantly mentions Zoilus the Reader, who was also an illuminator.¹⁰⁴ It was perhaps a group of such artist monks, fleeing from their devastated monasteries, or perhaps only a father and son from Alexandria itself, who found their way to Rome in the seventh century and left in the little church of S. Maria Antiqua the proofs of their Hellenistic inheritance. That their decoration was beautiful we know from the angel and that it must have been extensive and impressive is indicated by its long influence in this church.

The Alexandrian style, however, did not take root in Rome. Not the beautiful angel of the palimpsest wall but the apse of Paul I survived in the wide-spread Italo-Asiatic style of the early Middle Ages.

ambassador in 1557-59, and that there is thirteenth-century Greek writing on the back of the Joshua Rotulus, indicating that it was in Greek hands in that century. Nothing, however, in the history of mediaeval manuscripts is better established than their numerous and distant journeys. If an occasion for the presentation of such volumes in Constantinople needs to be suggested, it might have been the visit already mentioned (p. 143, n. 62) of Pope Constantine to Justinian II at the close of the first decade of the eighth century.

The miniatures of the Paris Psalter not only show the marked similarities to the Alexandrian frescoes which have been pointed out (pp. 33-34) but there are even traces of the "hands" described by Professor Morey (in his article, *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, p. 42, n. 1). Among these, hand A and the painter of the Exaltation of David would correspond with the first two Alexandrian groups (p. 37); hand B and the painter of the Penitence of David, to the third group (scenes 16-34). To the mannerisms noted as frequent both in miniatures and frescoes may be added the curiously ruffled fold on the leg of Christ in Limbus (Fig. 36), which recurs in the drapery of the kneeling David (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII). Hand D is the painter who had Asiatic leanings and a similar manner might be detected in the left chapel, especially in the swollen faces of the St. Quiricus series. D's favorite rinceau motive also reappears, here adorning the garment of Longinus (Fig. 9); and it is at least a coincidence that the irregular design of the rinceau used by D over the city gate in the Jonah scene of the Psalter is repeated in the fresco on the garment (except that space was lacking for the last curl). There is nothing in the Alexandrian

style at S. Maria Antiqua quite as debased as that of hand C, but some elements of its degeneracy may be recognized in the dislocated form of Stephaton in the left chapel (Fig. 9) and in the coarse drawing of the Virgin with the monogrammatic label (Fig. 39).

Professor Lake sees nothing in the writing on the miniatures to forbid this theory. Furthermore, he considers that the writing in the upper left corner of the miniature of Anna the Mother of Samuel (*The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 29) is "far more likely to be of the eighth century than later." In this opinion Professors C. B. Gulick and R. P. Blake, of Harvard, and Professor Alexander Vasilieff, of Wisconsin, concur.

Some connection between the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll is indicated by the Vatican Bible of Leo the Patrician (Vat. Reg. Gr. I) the 18 miniatures of which include (together with folios in Asiatic style) scenes from both the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter. The latter scenes closely resemble the Roll and the Psalter in style also, but a few differences in composition suggest that the copyists had access to more than one original. No conclusions, however, can be drawn without further study of the miniatures in Paris and Rome.

¹⁰²A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902, p. 96.

¹⁰³Among those who fled before the Persian invasion were Nicetas, the governor, and the Melkite archbishop, John the Almoner.

¹⁰⁴A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 98. John Moschus fled from Alexandria before the Persian invasion and ultimately reached Rome, where he died after finishing his book.

Maria Regina¹

By MARION LAWRENCE

Since iconography can be of the greatest assistance in determining the date and provenance of monuments whose origin is disputed, I am offering in the present article criteria concerning the treatment of the crowned Madonna by which to define groups or schools and trace the influence of one style upon another. I have taken the Madonna on the western door of Chartres (Fig. 22), c. 1150, as a *terminus ad quem*, for thereafter examples are so numerous and widespread that they have little significance for our problem.

I have found no example of a crowned Madonna in the East. But there is a continuous line in Italy from the sixth century on. Appearing first in the Early Christian mosaics of Rome, the iconographic type was continued in the Carolingian frescoes. It was copied in southern Italy as early as Carolingian times and was especially popular there in the eleventh century. In Rome, however, it apparently died out in the tenth and eleventh centuries, only to be revived with many innovations in the twelfth.

Outside of Italy my earliest examples are in German manuscripts and ivories of the eleventh century, whence the type passed either directly or by way of Lombard sculpture to France. It is there used intermittently in the minor arts in the early twelfth century and is finally popularized in monumental sculpture by the west façade of Chartres.

In Italy although the crown varies slightly with almost every example it is always a large tiara covered with jewels, which usually continue down to the shoulders in the form of a headdress. Mary also wears a rich dress, often jeweled and embroidered. In the North the crown is much simpler, usually a band of gold without jewels; three types may be distinguished: the *fleur-de-lis* with its variations, the simple circlet, and the Chartres type, the triangular shape of which may have grown out of the *fleur-de-lis*. The Virgin's dress, in contrast to that found in Italy, is always quite simple.

Italy also contrasts with the North in the pose of the Virgin. In Italy I have found, with but one exception, only the seated, strictly frontal Virgin and Child and the standing orant Virgin. No such generalization can be made for the North.

In all cases, however, the scenes are of a devotional and dogmatic nature, and until the twelfth century I have found, again with one exception,² no instances of the crowned Virgin in the Adoration of the Magi or other historical scenes.

Historical Introduction

The contrast between the simple account of the Virgin in the Gospels and the exalted position as Mother of God, Queen of the Heavens, and chief intercessor between God and man given her by the Church is stupendous, and yet it was reached by gradual steps.

The Early Christians laid no special emphasis upon the Virgin. We find her depicted as early as the second and third centuries, but often she is left out quite surprisingly, as

¹This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor C. R. Morey, of Princeton University; I wish

to acknowledge my indebtedness to him for his criticism and advice.

²The St. Lawrence Annunciation.

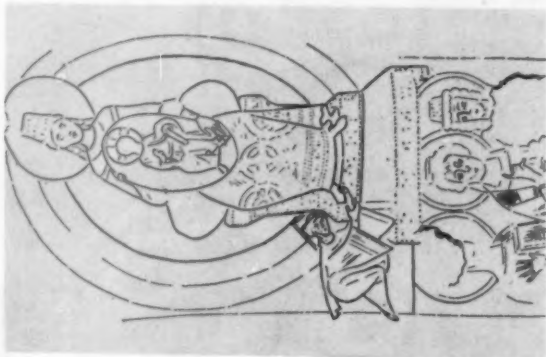


FIG. 1 — CHAPEL OF ST. LAWRENCE AT THE SOURCE OF THE VOLTURNO: SKETCH FROM FRESKO

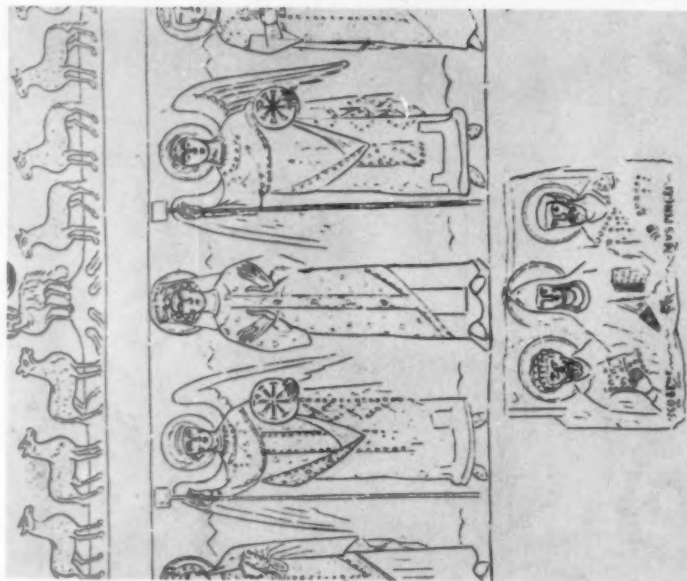


FIG. 2 — ROME, S. MARIA IN PALLARA (S. BASTIANELLO): SKETCH FROM FRESKO IN APSE



FIG. 4 — FLORENCE, S. MARCO: VIRGIN FROM ST. PETER'S, ROME



FIG. 3 — ROME, S. PRAEDE: SKETCH FROM FRESKO IN CRYPT

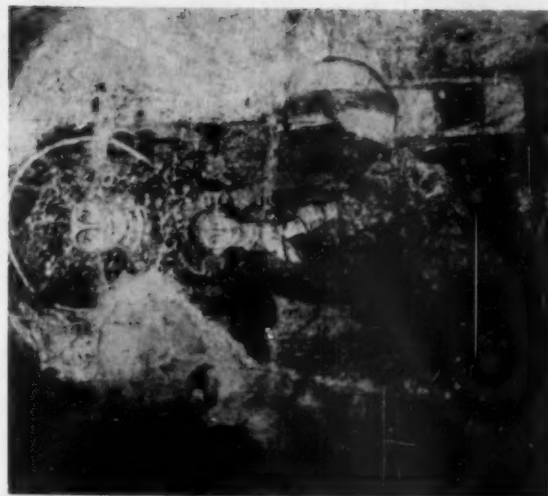


FIG. 6 — ROME, S. CLEMENTE: FRESKO IN LOWER CHURCH



FIG. 5 — S. ANGELO IN FORMIS: FRESKO IN NARTHEX



FIG. 7—ROME, S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN:
SKETCH FROM FRESCO IN PORCH



FIG. 8—FORO CLAUDIO: FRESCO IN APSE

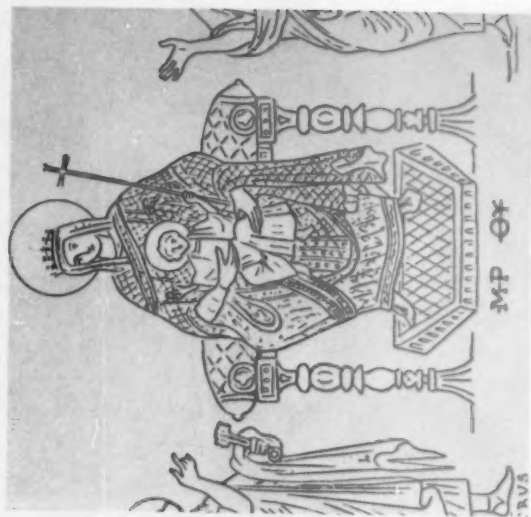


FIG. 9—DRAWING FROM MOSAIC FORMERLY IN
APSE OF CAPUA CATHEDRAL

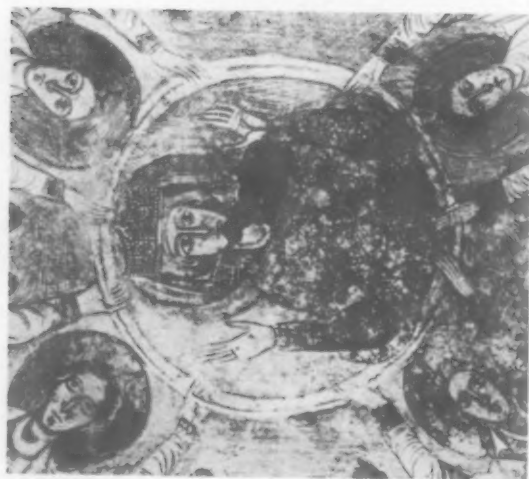


FIG. 10—AUSONIA: FRESCO IN CRYPT



FIG. 11—DRAWING FROM FRESCO FORMERLY IN APSE OF
CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS IN LATERAN PALACE



FIG. 12—PIACENZA, CATHEDRAL: DETAIL
FROM LINTEL OF NORTH PORTAL

in the Nativity in the S. Sebastiano fresco;³ and when she appears, it is in the simplest form definitely suggested by the Bible story. She is a simple mother with her Child in the third-century Madonna del Latte in the Catacombs of Priscilla.⁴ This conception also appears in Coptic art at Saqqara⁵ and in Coptic manuscripts,⁶ where the representation is much cruder; but on the whole it is a very unusual treatment, and not until the Renaissance is the Virgin again so unconscious of her divinity.

With the Decree of Constantine, in 313, there was a rapid influx of "half converted heathen," as Eusebius denounces them, who tended to polytheism and are generally supposed to have paved the way for an elaborate hierarchy of saints and the worship of the Virgin. At the end of the fourth century, when St. Augustine proclaimed the dogma of her perpetual virginity and freedom from actual sin,⁷ we find this tendency growing stronger. In 431 the Council of Ephesus took the important step of declaring her Theotokos, Mother of God.⁸ It was about this time also that Christmas was made a separate festival.⁹ It had previously been celebrated with Epiphany, which with Pentecost and Easter had formed the three chief church festivals. Shortly afterwards the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption began to be celebrated separately.

The dogmatic effect of the Council of Ephesus is generally supposed to be seen in the arch mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, probably done almost immediately afterwards, but Mary is not enthroned with the Child. About the sixth century, however, we find a series of hieratic enthroned Madonnas, the great majority of which show a strict frontality of both Mother and Child. The Syrian origin of this type and its close connection with Coptic art are now, I believe, generally accepted theories.¹⁰ It was principally this type that came over to Italy and that one thinks of as the characteristic Byzantine type of Madonna; it continued in popularity well into the fourteenth century and largely formed Cimabue's and Duccio's type. In the sixth-century mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna,¹¹ Mary sits on a jeweled throne, "for the first time," as Strzygowski says,¹² "in regal splendor." Analogous presentations of the Madonna appear in the apse mosaic of Parenzo Cathedral,¹³ in S. Maria in Domnica, Rome (817-24),¹⁴ in the Sacro Speco, Subiaco (847-55),¹⁵ and in the eleventh-century frescoes of the crypt of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome.¹⁶ We might continue the enumeration down through the mosaics of Monreale,¹⁷ St. Mark's, and Trieste¹⁸ to the mosaic in the tribune of the Florentine Baptistery,¹⁹ c. 1225, where we have the same hieratic dignity and strict frontal pose. But in all these

³E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, fig. 6; see also figs. 7 and 9 for two interesting examples on sarcophagi.

⁴Otto Mitius has pointed out that this is closely analogous to a classic sarcophagus in the Louvre (Weinicke in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1885 & af. 14) on which a mother is nursing her child.

⁵Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, II, pl. 40.

⁶Grüneisen, *Characteristiques de l'art copte*, pl. XLV, p. 101.

⁷Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, I, p. 498.

⁸This was the result of the controversy between Nestorius and Cyril and confirmed the stand taken by the latter that Mary was Theotokos in every sense, since she brought forth carnally the Word of God made flesh.

⁹Sheldon, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

¹⁰It occurs on the Monza phials (Garrucci, *Storia* . . . , VI, pls. 433/7, 9 and 434/1) in the late sixth or early seventh century; in the Etschmiadzin Gospels (Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, p. 6), also of the late sixth century; and on numerous ivories, the book cover from Murano, now in Manchester (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 114) and one in the

British Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 126); etc. At Bawlt (Clédat, *Monastère et nécropole de Baoult*, II, pls. 96-98) it is slightly modified, for the Child is in a mandorla and held to one side. In the sixth century also we have the mosaic of the Madonna enthroned in St. Demetrius at Salonika (Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, fig. 91 and p. 192), and it continues in the tenth century in the apse of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (*ibid.*, fig. 230, p. 473), and in the eleventh century at St. Luke's in Phocis. Schlumberger has shown the popularity of the type on Byzantine coins and seals from the end of the ninth century on (*Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* and *L'épopée byzantine*).

¹¹Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*, fig. 218.

¹²Strzygowski, *Cimabue und Rom*, p. 44.

¹³Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 217.

¹⁴Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, I, fig. 44.

¹⁵Egidi, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, I, pl. 4.

¹⁶Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 219.

¹⁷Diehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 222.

¹⁸Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 115.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, fig. 125.

the Madonna is plainly clothed, with a simple veil over her head; in none of them is there anything approaching a queen's costume or crown.

Italy—Jeweled Crown

It is crowned, however, that the Madonna appears at the end of the sixth century on the palimpsest wall at the right of the choir in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome.²⁰ Although sadly ruined by the later layers, enough still remains to show us her high jeweled crown, or Byzantine headdress, and the large jewels that adorn her dress. Enthroned as an empress in all her glory, she here becomes even more truly the Queen of the Heavens. Since this type persists throughout the centuries and since I have found no examples anywhere in the East, I am convinced that it is a purely Roman adaptation.

Possible prototypes appear in the East. The gold coin of Flavia Maxima Fausta Augusta, which Strzygowski²¹ has suggested as a possible prototype of the Madonna, shows the empress seated, crowned and nimbed, holding her young Son on her lap, both in strict frontality.²² The coin dates 317-324; there are examples both in the British Museum and in Berlin. One might also suggest as a prototype for the crown the wreath held over the Madonna's head in the mosaic at Parenzo,²³ and the wreath on the lead vase found at Carthage,²⁴ probably dating from the fourth or fifth century. On the latter example an orant stands (perhaps representing both Church and Virgin) while an angel holds a wreath over her head. But these seem much further removed than the coin of Fausta Augusta. The Holy Mother Church is also crowned at Bawit.²⁵

All these may have gone to form the Madonna at S. Maria Antiqua. Her strictly frontal posture with the "two-year-old" Child on her knees is a commonplace. Her imperial costume is a distinct departure. The crown is of much the same type as that of Theodora in the famous mosaic at S. Vitale, Ravenna, c. 547, and is a favorite among the many variations of Byzantine tiaras. The large jewels continue on the side-pieces over her ears. Her thin veil falls behind. The lyre-shaped mosaic throne is not unusual,²⁶ as Grüneisen²⁷ has shown, the nimbus of the Christ Child without the cross, the type of sandals, the jeweled cover of the Gospels, and the angels on either side bearing crowns compare with those in the Ascension in the Rabula Gospel. All of this strengthens the dating in the end of the sixth century, toward which the arrangement of the successive layers of the palimpsest wall also points.

A second enthroned Madonna in S. Maria Antiqua is under the Crucifixion in the Chapel of Quiricus and Julitta,²⁸ dating from the middle of the eighth century; but as the entire upper part is missing, it is useless for our purpose. All we see is the cushion and jeweled throne, the lower part of the Virgin's robe, heavily jeweled, and the indication that she is of the frontal type and surrounded by saints. We are more fortunate in the third example, one in the atrium, dated quite conclusively 772-95 by the square nimbus of

²⁰See Pl. XC, fig. 2 above, and the cover design of this magazine.

²¹Strzygowski, *Byz. Denkmäler*, I, p. 40.

²²Kenner, *Römische Medallions*, in *Jb. Kunst. allerh. Kaiser.*, IX, pl. IV, and p. 170.

²³Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 276/1.

²⁴Delattre, *Le culte de la Vierge en Afrique*, p. 26.

²⁵Grüneisen, *Characteristiques . . .*, pl. XXXII.

²⁶One finds it at Ravenna in the Christ enthroned between angels at S. Apollinare Nuovo (van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 14) and in the Virgin enthroned on the reliquary

of Grado (Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*, fig. 225). It appears later at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Diehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 231), in the mosaic of Christ enthroned in the narthex, dating from the ninth century; in the fresco of Christ at Carpignano (Westlake, *History of Design in Mural Painting*, II, pl. 74), dated by an inscription 959; and in the twelfth-century crypt of S. Lucia in Brindisi (Diehl, *L'art byzantin dans l'Italie meridionale*, p. 47).

²⁷Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 272ff. and pp. 200ff.

²⁸Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 179.

Hadrian I. Although the face is gone, we can still see here the shadow of the crown where the paint has peeled off, leaving its outline on the nimbus. This crown was evidently like the one on the palimpsest wall. The Virgin's costume and the composition are also much the same, but the throne is of a more common type, straight backed, and in spite of the inscription, "Maria Regina," the whole conception was probably not so magnificent as the sixth-century one (see Pl. XCIII, Fig. 8, above).

Before considering Carolingian copies of this type in Rome and southern Italy we shall take up the orant type. That the praying figure was a very popular motive, dating back to the catacombs is well known. Garrucci²⁹ has shown how numberless and of what early date these orants were on gold glass. Though many of them are inscribed "Maria," none are crowned; all wear the typical Roman headdress of the period or a simple veil. The orant Madonna was popular in the East also; she appears in the Ascension at Bawit³⁰ and in the Rabula Gospel,³¹ to mention only two examples.

In the mosaic from old St. Peter's, now in S. Marco, Florence (Fig. 4),³² the orant Virgin is crowned and wears the elaborate Byzantine imperial costume with its huge jewels. The crown, though of slightly different shape at the top, is of essentially the same type as the one in S. Maria Antiqua. Here again the jewels extend almost in the form of a veil to the shoulders. There can be little doubt as to the date, since we know from the Grimaldi drawings³³ that the smaller figure of Pope John VII,³⁴ with the square nimbus, now in the Vatican crypt, originally stood at the feet of the Virgin; this places her in his pontificate (705-8) and thus earlier than our second example in S. Maria Antiqua.³⁵ Von Gabelentz³⁶ calls this the oldest picture of the Byzantine orant in Italy, by which he probably means the oldest Virgin as orant clad in Byzantine attire.

There is also a crowned standing Virgin in the crypt of S. Prassede, Rome (Fig. 3),³⁷ which Marucchi³⁸ dates in the ninth century. She wears the elaborate Byzantine costume, as do her companions, St. Praxedis and St. Pudentiana. Her crown is only slightly more elaborate than theirs, and she alone wears a veil. A crown of exactly the same shape, but without a veil, is worn by St. Agnes in the seventh-century mosaic in the Church of St. Agnes, Rome.³⁹ Her hands alone, possibly a reconstruction, contrast with those of the Virgin of John VII.

To return to our S. Maria Antiqua type,⁴⁰ the fresco in the Lower Church of S. Clemente (Fig. 6) is a stock parallel.⁴¹ The Virgin is enthroned and is crowned with an elaborate headdress literally covered with jewels, which reach down on either side in straight bands to her shoulders. Her dress also is jeweled. Her throne is mostly gone but it seems to have been straight and high backed. The Christ is larger in proportion to the Virgin than at S. Maria Antiqua, but the idea of the two-year-old Child is obviously

²⁹*Vetri ornati di figure in oro.*

³⁰Clédat, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 41.

³¹Garrucci, *Storia* . . . , III, pl. 139/2.

³²De Rossi, *Mosaici e saggi* . . . , pl. 20/1; Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 279/2; Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 232.

³³*Ibid.*, pl. ic. LXVI.

³⁴*Ibid.*, fig. 228.

³⁵In the fragment of the Epiphany now in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 233), one of the small scenes that originally surrounded our Madonna, it should be noted that the Virgin is uncrowned and simply dressed, with a veil and no jewels. The iconography is eastern (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 51; cf. Paris MS. Gr. 510, Omont, *Facsimilés MSS. Grecs*), and the whole treatment and style are in strong contrast to the frontal stare and dogmatic attitude of the

central Madonna.

³⁶*Kirchliche Kunst*, p. 170.

³⁷Rohault de Fleury, *La sainte Vierge*, II, pl. 93.

³⁸*Éléments de l'archéologie chrétienne*, III, p. 332.

³⁹Van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 26.

⁴⁰It might be argued that the Virgin is crowned in the crypt of S. Martino ai Monti (van Marle, *Peinture romaine au moyen-âge*, fig. 50, p. 111). The paint has flaked off in such a way that the outline of a crown is suggested on the nimbus. It is, however, the merest suggestion. The Virgin's dress is simple and not jeweled. I feel convinced that she is not crowned, although the point is open to dispute.

⁴¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 213; Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pl. ic. LIX.

the same. The handling of the figures is much inferior; and, with its harsh outlines, huge eyes, and emaciated figures, the S. Clemente example shows a broken-down Carolingian style. Wilpert dates this fresco under Leo IV (847-55) and van Marle agrees with him, but Grüneisen⁴² assigns it to the eighth century. It is doubtless Carolingian. Parallels for the crown are found on innumerable Byzantine seals, notably those of Justinian II (670-711) and Basil I (876-86),⁴³ and it is not dissimilar to that worn by Mother Church in the Exultet Roll of the Bibliotheca Barberini⁴⁴ and to those found in Ottonian manuscripts.⁴⁵

About the same time we find the crowned type of Madonna copied in southern Italy; or the artists there were so imbued with a sense of her divinity that they crowned her of their own accord, for the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Lawrence at the source of the Volturno have surprisingly little resemblance to those at Rome. The Maria Regina of St. Lawrence (Fig. 1)⁴⁶ is dated for us (826-43) by the kneeling figure at her feet, Abbot Epiphanius, who wears a square nimbus. The Virgin Annunciate⁴⁷ is obviously of the same time. The use of the mandorla and the Blacherniotissa type is quite puzzling and points to strong eastern influence, but the jeweled headdress (here of a more pyramidal shape than at Rome and like those of the ladies of the Ashburnham Pentateuch), the imperial robe, and especially the unusual appearance of a crowned Virgin in the Annunciation are far removed from the eastern conception of a simply veiled Madonna.

For our only example in either the tenth or eleventh century we turn again to Rome. In the apse fresco of S. Maria in Pallara (popularly called S. Bastianello),⁴⁸ on the Palatine hill, is an orant, crowned Virgin in the center of a row of saints and under Christ in glory (Fig. 2). The Virgin's crown is low and like those of the four saints accompanying her, but she wears a veil and a more elaborate costume than the others. The ornamental bands are interesting and are much like those on the costumes at Foro Claudio (Fig. 8). The connection with southern Italy is strengthened by documentary evidence, for we know that S. Bastianello was given by Alexander II in 1065 to Desiderius, the famous Benedictine abbot of Monte Cassino. As the figure of St. Benedict is obviously later than the rest of the fresco, the presumption is that the fresco was done somewhat before 1065 and St. Benedict added about that time.⁴⁹

In southern Italy, especially in the churches connected with Desiderius, the crowned Madonna was very popular in the eleventh century. In the narthex of S. Angelo in Formis we find her in a medallion upheld by two angels (Fig. 5).⁵⁰ Below is the Archangel Michael, on whose globe are inscribed the Greek letters ΜΡΘΑ,⁵¹ and below that Desiderius has written his name. As the Virgin is obviously painted by the same hand and as both are of the same style as the fresco inside where we see Desiderius with a square nimbus, we can pretty definitely date them by him. The Virgin wears a high crown, somewhat like the northern type, as we shall see, but it is sufficiently Byzantine to be considered of eastern derivation; also she stretches out her hands in the characteristic eastern fashion.

In the crypt of Ausonia we find her in much the same posture, in a medallion, but

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴³Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, p. 419.

⁴⁴Wilpert, in *Röm. Quart.*, 1899, pls. 1 and 2.

⁴⁵Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*, I, p. 53; Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, figs. 113, 115, 118.

⁴⁶Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie meridionale*, fig. 34

and p. 97.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pl. 3.

⁴⁸Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 224; Bertaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 77.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, fig. 97; Westlake, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 76.

⁵¹Probably ΜΙΧΑΪΛ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΘΕΩ ΕΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

upheld by four angels (Fig. 10).⁵² Her crown is more like the three-pointed diadem of the palimpsest wall of S. Maria Antiqua. No jewels come over her ears, however, and the veil falls behind instead of over her hair, the same treatment as at S. Bastianello. Desiderius was given this church also in 1065 by Richard Conte d'Aversa as a peace offering⁵³ and the frescoes probably date from Desiderius' time. Their similarity to the rest of the group bears out this conclusion.

Closely allied to the other examples in southern Italy at this time is the frontal Madonna in the cathedral at Foro Claudio, near Sessa (Fig. 8).⁵⁴ She sits in hieratic dignity as at S. Maria Antiqua with an angel on each side. The composition is analogous to that in the apse of S. Angelo in Formis (cf. the rayed aureole and the row of saints with St. Michael in the center).⁵⁵ The Madonna's crown is of the S. Angelo type and is, as Westlake points out,⁵⁶ similar to those worn by the female saints in the fragmentary paintings in the Parthenon, which probably date from before the visit of Basil II (958-1025). As in both of these parallels, she wears no veil. The green dado, or hedge, behind the figures recalls S. Bastianello, as do the ornamental bands below, with motives obviously inspired by Roman mosaics.⁵⁷ The figures in S. Bastianello, however, are short and squat, and very awkward in anatomy, while those in Foro Claudio go toward the other extreme in their elongation. Since Foro Claudio was abandoned as a cathedral in 1095 this elaborate decoration must have been done before that date; the analogies with S. Angelo in Formis and S. Bastianello place it in the second half of the eleventh century.⁵⁸

At this point mention should be made of two mosaics now destroyed, one formerly above the apse composition of S. Cecilia, the other in the apse of Capua Cathedral. Ciampini gives drawings of both of these. In S. Cecilia⁵⁹ the Virgin was enthroned with the Child, both frontal and both wearing crowns, which in the drawing look remarkably modern with their five points. As this is, moreover, our first example of the crowned Child, it suggests restoration. An angel on either side pointed to a row of female saints, themselves crowned and bearing crowns; below, the four and twenty elders offered wreaths. Aside from the crowns of the Virgin and Child, therefore, there was nothing unusual. Only the lower part of the composition (the inner tympanum, as it were)⁶⁰ is preserved; it is directly inspired by Sts. Cosmas and Damian and is dated by an inscription 817-824.

At Capua (Fig. 9)⁶¹ the Madonna wore a rich dress and a low band crown over a veil, as far as one can tell from the drawing not unlike the crown at S. Bastianello. Below is the inscription MP ΘΤ, but the names of the surrounding saints are in Latin, as is the inscription at the bottom, which is now thought to date in the early twelfth century. Again, little can be argued from a no longer existing monument.

⁵²Bertaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 105, p. 277. This is quite a common composition. See the Christ in the vault of the S. Zeno Chapel at S. Prassede, and the cupola of Hagia Sophia of Kiev (Diehl, *Manuel* . . . , fig. 220).

⁵³Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pl. 13; Westlake, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 77.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, II, pl. 78.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, II, p. 75; see also pl. 102 and pp. 90-91, fig. 15.

⁵⁷Cf. Eclissi's seventeenth-century drawing of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome*, fig. 7), and the vault of S. Costanza (Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 298, fig. 125).

⁵⁸Bertaux (*op. cit.*, p. 301) mentions another "Vierge Reine" in imperial costume at S. Elia, Nepi. Van Marle (*Italian Schools* . . . , I, p. 154) also alludes to it but gives no reproduction. Zimmermann (*Giotto*, p. 51) alone describes it but doubts whether it is the

Virgin since it is surrounded by archangels and carries a cross scepter. This, however, is no argument against its being the Virgin. As we have seen, archangels are common enough, and the Virgin carries a cross scepter on the Grado reliquary (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 225), on an ivory (*ibid.*, fig. 265), a MS. in the Bibl. Nat. (Lat. 12048, *ibid.*, fig. 266), and probably on many other examples. At any rate, the fresco is very ruinous. It is dated by an inscription in the eleventh century. I have been able to obtain no photograph of the figure in question, though the procession of jeweled and crowned virgins on either side is available.

⁵⁹Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, II, pl. 51.

⁶⁰Garrucci, *Storia* . . . , IV, pl. 292, gives the whole.

⁶¹Ciampini, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 54; Bertaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 76.

There was also a fresco in the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace⁶² which we know only from a drawing (Fig. 11). This shows the frontal Madonna and Child, while angels at the side with torches and two popes kneeling below with square nimbi form a remarkably tight composition. These popes are labeled Calixtus II (1119-1124) and Anastasius III, probably a misunderstanding of Anacletus in the sixteenth-century reconstruction (Anastasius III dates 911-913); hence the fresco is generally placed 1133-50. The Virgin carries a cross scepter. Her crown is like that in Foro Claudio and still more like that from old St. Peter's. How much of this is sixteenth-century reconstruction is uncertain.

Turning to extant representations, we find in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome,⁶³ a fresco of an enthroned squarely frontal Madonna and Child (Fig. 7). Her crown, like examples examined in S. Prassede and St. Agnes, is triangular, with the central part slightly raised. Her veil falls behind, as we have already seen it a number of times. The church was dedicated by Pope Calixtus in 1123⁶⁴ and the frescoes are generally supposed to date from his time.⁶⁵

That the type was now becoming more widespread and varied is evidenced by the appearance of a crowned Madonna in sculpture, particularly in the Epiphany. The lintel of the north portal of Piacenza Cathedral (Fig. 12)⁶⁶ furnishes one of the first examples of the crowned Madonna in historical scenes. In this work of Niccolò or his school she is crowned in the Nativity as well as in the Epiphany. Her crown in both instances is a very high circular type, not far removed from the Byzantine tiaras, and she wears a veil. The inscription, 1122, although modern, is probably a copy, and the date is supported by the close community of the style with that of the signed works of Niccolò at Verona and Ferrara.⁶⁷

The Coronation in S. Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 14)⁶⁸ introduces a new and popular theme. Previously Mary had been merely the *sedes sapientiae* of the Infant Christ, important only through her relation to Him. But here she is enthroned side by side with Him in Glory. Mâle⁶⁹ thinks Senlis the oldest Coronation in France and ascribes its inspiration to Abbé Suger, possibly to his windows at St.-Denis. The Coronation in S. Maria in Trastevere is the earliest I know of in Italy or elsewhere, and it was at about the time of its creation, as Mâle points out, that Innocent II, in 1131, made a journey to France. It is hard to be sure about influences, but both Coronations are indicative of the growing veneration of the Virgin that was to burst into full flower shortly after Chartres, in the second half of the twelfth century. In Trastevere the Virgin is already crowned. It is only later, as Mâle has shown, that we find an angel or Christ placing the crown on her head. For the rest, the apse mosaic is much what we have seen before, the saints on either side and the Virgin in rich robe and royal diadem. The inscription of Innocent II⁷⁰ gives a definite date, 1148.

⁶²Morey, *op. cit.*, pl. 5 and p. 68.

⁶³Fleury, *La sainte Vierge*, II, p. 95.

⁶⁴Van Marle, *Italian Schools* . . . , I, p. 183.

⁶⁵Two curious frescoes in North Italy that seem to be a fusion of the crowned and the veiled Madonna are in SS. Faustino e Giovita, Lambrate, and S. Teodoro, Pavia, respectively (Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, figs. 83 and 84). In both of these the Madonna and Child are of the strictly frontal type, and the crown, of the same shadowy nature as the nimbus, is poised on the very top of the head above the veil. Toesca dates them as merely of the twelfth century, and I have omitted them from my line of development both because

of the vagueness of the date and because they look to me like a later misunderstanding of the theme.

⁶⁶Venturi, *Storia* . . . , III, fig. 151; Zimmermann, *Oberitalische Plastik*, fig. 32.

⁶⁷Venturi, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 96; A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III, p. 254.

⁶⁸Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 532.

⁶⁹*L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, p. 184.

⁷⁰Marucchi, *Éléments* . . . , III, p. 435, quotes it: "qui praesentem ecclesiam ad honorem dei genitricis Mariae sicut est a fundamentis sumptibus propriis renovavit A. D. MCXL et completa est A. D. MCXLVIII."

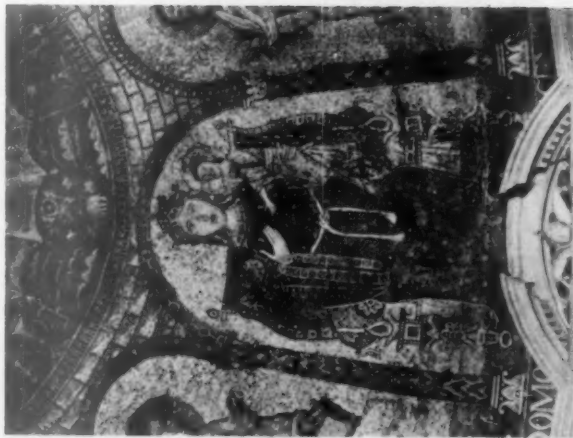


FIG. 13 — ROME, S. MARIA NUOVA (S. FRANCESCA ROMANA): MOSAIC IN APSE



FIG. 14 — ROME, S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE: MOSAIC IN APSE

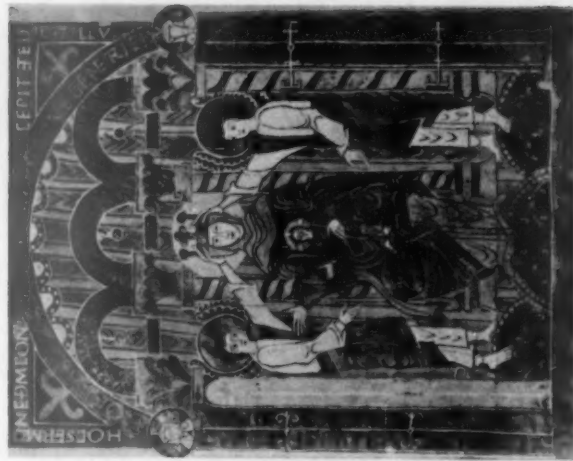


FIG. 15 — HILDESHEIM, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM GOSPEL OF ST. BERNWARD



FIG. 16 — ESSEN, LIBRARY: DETAIL FROM IVORY BOOK COVER



FIG. 17 — REGENSBURG, LIBRARY: CENTRAL MEDALLION FROM PAGE OF UTAL CODEX



FIG. 18 — CONQUES, TREASURY: DETAIL OF ENAMEL ALTAR FRONTAL



FIG. 19—DRAWING FROM SEAL OF CHAPTER OF PARIS



FIG. 20—DIJON, LIBRARY: PAGE FROM MS. 180



FIG. 21—DRAWING FROM SEAL OF ABBEY OF VICOONE



FIG. 22—CHARTRES, CATHEDRAL: TYMPANUM OF SOUTH DOOR OF WEST FAÇADE

Chartres popularized the crown in the North and examples began to appear on every hand in Italy. That in S. Maria Nuova (1161) (Fig. 13) is one of the most famous and was possibly inspired by S. Maria Antiqua. Infinite variations of the Byzantine crown appear until it was gradually replaced by the northern *fleur-de-lis* type.

The representation of the crowned Madonna is evidently continuous in Italy, though at no time does it rival in numbers the uncrowned type. The frequency of Greek inscriptions and of such Byzantine characteristics as the mandorla, jeweled costume, and hieratic frontal position might seem to point to the East, and yet nowhere outside of Italy have I discovered at this time a crowned Madonna (except as the type passed to the North in the eleventh century). Where there is direct and purer eastern influence, as at Ravenna, it is noteworthy that we find only the simple veiled type. I feel convinced, therefore, that the Italian crowned Madonna is a Roman modification of an eastern theme and a case of a type becoming superficially more Byzantine than Byzantium!

Except for the St. Lawrence Annunciation, the Piacenza reliefs, and the Trastevere Coronation, all of these Virgins have held the Child strictly in front or have been of the orant type and consequently without the Child. Though the Virgin's companions have been various, nowhere before the twelfth century have we found an Adoration of the Magi. She has always worn a distinctly Byzantine headdress, of varying details, it is true, but nowhere (with one exception⁷¹) suggesting a circlet surmounted by *fleurs-de-lis*. It was for the North to develop this type.

Northern Europe

In Carolingian illumination I have been able to find no examples of the crowned Madonna; she first appears at the beginning of the eleventh century, in the Ottonian manuscripts. The tenth-century Sacramentary from Petershausen, now in Heidelberg,⁷² has a seated figure with a curious spiked crown, but there is nothing to indicate that she is the Virgin. Since she carries the cross and something suggesting a foundation stone she probably represents the Church.

Fleur-de-lis Crown

The Gospel of St. Bernward in Hildesheim⁷³ contains a frontal crowned Madonna holding the Child (Fig. 15). The crown, a gold circlet with three *fleurs-de-lis* points in front,⁷⁴ differs notably from the Italian type. It is a crown used for kings from early times, as in manuscripts of Charles the Bald (840-877),⁷⁵ on the seal of Robert II of France (c. 977),⁷⁶ in English manuscripts such as the Charter of New Minster⁷⁷ and the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, and in the early eleventh century on the seal of Henry III of Germany.⁷⁸ In some of these, as the New Minster manuscript and the seal of Robert II, the central *fleur-de-lis* is higher than those at the sides. In others they are all of the same height. We shall find both kinds used for the Madonna. The earliest use I find of the *fleur-de-lis* for the Madonna is in the Gospel of St. Bernward. As in Italy, the Madonna is hieratic and frontal and the scene devotional, not historical.

⁷¹The one exception, known only from a drawing, is from Capua Cathedral, dating early in the twelfth century.

⁷²Oechelhauser, *Miniaturen der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg*, I, pl. 2.

⁷³Beissel, *Das Bernward Evangelienbuch*, pl. 5, and *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland*, p. 172.

⁷⁴For the *fleur-de-lis* see Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*

du mobilier français, III, p. 308; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne under fleur-de-lis*, col. 1703.

⁷⁵Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pls. 49 and 114.

⁷⁶Roman, *Manuel de sigillographie française*, pl. III/2.

⁷⁷British Museum: *Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 8.

⁷⁸Eye and Falke, *Kunst der Vorzeit*, I, p. 33.

Another example of the early eleventh century is found in a second German manuscript, the Uta Codex,⁷⁹ on the dedicatory page of which Uta kneels before the Virgin (Fig. 17). The Virgin wears a crown analogous to that in the St. Bernward Gospel. Though derived from the frontal type, both she and the Child are slightly turned to the left, a step toward naturalism.⁸⁰

We see the same kind of crown again in a curious freak of the English imagination, the Trinity of the Church Offices of New Minster (1012-1020).⁸¹ The Virgin stands with the Child, who holds a book, and the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove perches on her crown.

In a manuscript (130)⁸² in the Library of Dijon the Virgin stands alone on a small altar (Fig. 20). In her left hand she holds a book; her right hand is raised in benediction. The abbots of Cîteaux and Arras stand below presenting models of their respective churches. A smaller figure, kneeling on the ground and offering her a book, is the monk Osbertus, who copied the commentaries of St. Jerome on Jeremiah on the occasion of the visit of Abbot Harding of Cîteaux to the cloister of St. Waast at Arras. Since this is the frontispiece of the manuscript, it dates the Virgin securely in the year of the visit, 1125. Her crown is of the *fleur-de-lis* type, and she has a large halo, as in the Gospel of St. Bernward. On the whole, the style, though less crude, is nearest to that of the Ottonian manuscripts.

In the Ile-de-France a number of crowned Madonnas date in the five years before 1150. A seal of the Chapter of Paris (Fig. 19)⁸³ shows the Virgin alone and crowned, raising her left hand in benediction, her right holding a *fleur-de-lis* that is almost a cross. This is our first example in which she carries anything resembling a *fleur-de-lis*. Her throne is broad and draped, probably an X-shaped chair like the one in our next example. An inscription around the edges, "*Congregacio Sce. Marie Parisiensis*," removes all doubt, could any exist, as to the Virgin's identity and the locality of the seal. Fortunately, also, it is attached to a dated charter of 1146. The Abbey of Vicogne, or Casa Dei, near Cambrai, used a seal (Fig. 21)⁸⁴ very similar to the one just described. Here the Virgin's *fleur-de-lis* crown is higher and of a more exaggerated type. She holds an open book in one hand, a *fleur-de-lis* surmounting a globe in the other, and she sits on a "Dagobert" throne,⁸⁵ with animal-head arms and claw feet. The Vicogne seal is also identified by inscription and is attached to a document of 1149.⁸⁶

⁷⁹Swarzenski, *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, pl. 12; Beissel, *Geschichte* . . . , fig. 71.

⁸⁰Another possible example in German MSS. is in a Gospel in the Vatican which Rohault de Fleury illustrates (*op. cit.*, pl. CI). As he labels it only Vat. MS. 39, I have been unable to discover whether it is Cod. Vat. Palat. Lat. 39 or Cod. Vat. Lat. 39. The former is a German MS. dated by the Vatican authorities in the eleventh century; the latter, one of the thirteenth century from Verona. Little can be judged of the style from the Fleury drawings, but in either case it does not militate against my conclusions. An ivory in Antwerp, in the collection of Mayer van den Bergh (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, XII/33; Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, no. 283; and Fleury, *op. cit.*, II, pl. CXLV) might be cited as a further illustration of this type. Goldschmidt places it in Echternach (?) and in the middle of the eleventh century, but I have omitted it from my list because I am unable to discover conclusive reasons for the date.

⁸¹British Museum, Cotton MS. Titus D 27. British Museum: *Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 12.

⁸²Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II (1), fig. 232.

⁸³Fleury, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 132, and I, p. 348; Douet d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux*, no. 7252.

⁸⁴Fleury, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 133, and I, p. 348; Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de Flandre*, no. 6811.

⁸⁵Lenormant (Cahier, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, I, pp. 239ff.) has studied this type of throne, tracing it back to the throne ascribed to Dagobert (Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints*, II, p. 780) now in the Cabinet de France in the Bibl. Nat. It appears on the seal of Philip I (1060-1108) and continues in popularity down through the reign of Philip V (1316-22) (*ibid.*, I, pl. 30).

⁸⁶There are three seals in the British Museum with crowned Madonnas dated by Birch in the official *Catalogue of Seals* as of the eleventh century. He gives no reasons, however, and they are apparently, with the exception of the one of St. Mary's Abbey, York (no. 4385), not attached to dated MSS. The last named is attached to a Harleian MS. and in a later work published by the British Museum is called a thirteenth-century impression of an eleventh-century matrix. What evidence there is for "the eleventh-century matrix" I have not been able to discover. A second one, Worcester (no. 2295), is described by Dugdale, *Monasticon Angli-*

Plain Circlet

The second type of northern crown, a simple circlet over a veil, appears on an ivory book cover in the Essen Library (Fig. 16).⁸⁷ The Virgin is frontal but the Child is held at the side, for the first time in the seated type on a datable monument. A kneeling figure at her feet, holding a book, is labeled Theophanu Abba, which dates the plaque quite securely about 1039-54. The Virgin's dress, as in all our northern examples, is simple, and she carries nothing in her hands. Her throne is a simple, heavy stone bench. The iconography of the rest of the plaque seems a mixture and proves little as to origin.⁸⁸

The plain circlet appears earlier in German art: it is used for Herod and Salome on the St. Bernward Column of Hildesheim.⁸⁹ In France and England we find it on later Madonnas, as on the lintel of La Charité-sur-Loire,⁹⁰ the tomb of St. Junien,⁹¹ and the Abingdon seal.⁹²

The Madonnas on the two Limoges enamel altar fronts of Conques wear a triangular variant of the plain circlet. The first,⁹³ as dated by an inscription on the back, was done under Abbot Begon III, c. 1100, and shows Christ in the center, "S. Fides" on His left, "S. Maria" on His right, with other saints on either side. St. Foy as well as the Virgin is nimbed and wears a triangular headdress and veil. The second altar (Fig. 18) is closely similar to the first in style and must be of about the same date, but it is more complete. On the upper part of the square jeweled border Christ is shown in a medallion, with "S. D. Fies" on one side and "S. Maria" on the other, both wearing the triangular headdress, which looks as if it might have been derived from the Byzantine type at S. Agnese and in the crypt of S. Prassede.

Chartres Crown

About 1150 the Chartres Madonna began the series of famous tympana which popularized the crowned Madonna all over France and the North. At Chartres⁹⁴ a hieratic frontal Virgin and Child of the type we have seen at S. Maria Antiqua and elsewhere in Italy and last found in the Ottonian manuscripts occupies the center of the tympanum of the south door of the west façade (Fig. 22). An angel on either side accompanies her. Her throne is inconspicuous, a square bench mostly covered by her gown, and both she and the Child are empty handed. The Virgin's crown belongs to neither of the two northern types we have studied; it is apparently later and based upon a combination of the two. It is an elaboration of the low ring-like crown, with the three peaks suggested by the three *fleurs-de-lis*; the *fleur-de-lis* design was probably modified to simplify the execution in stone. The angels are Burgundian and the style of the Madonna is the early proto-Gothic of the Ile-de-France.

Whether the Madonna is derived solely from Ottonian examples and their French

canum, as attached to a charter of 1297. The one from Abingdon (no. 2542) I have not been able to trace further. A number of other seals he dates in the twelfth century. But probably none of these belong earlier than 1150 and most are definitely later, either from the date of the foundation of the monasteries or from the date of their earliest extant records. I think it probable that the type appeared on seals in England shortly after its appearance in France.

⁸⁷Weerth, *Kunstdenkmäler des christliche Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden*, pl. 27/1.

⁸⁸Two Madonnas that have sometimes been called crowned are on ivories, one at Mainz and the other in the South Kensington Museum (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 13, pp. 5 and 25f.; Westwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 137f.;

Maskell, *Ivories*, pl. on p. 116). I think it a peculiar cap-like arrangement of the veil rather than a crown, especially as on the Mainz ivory the ornamented border is only on the front.

⁸⁹Beissel, *Der heilige Bernward von Hildesheim*, pl. XI.

⁹⁰Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, pl. 118.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pl. 450.

⁹²Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 138.

⁹³Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, figs. 134 and 137; Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts industriels*, IV, p. 116.

⁹⁴Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres, porte-royale*; Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 178; etc.

copies or is slightly influenced by Italy it is difficult to say. The frontal monumentality of the Virgin and Child might incline one to the latter view. The French seals are puzzling; they indicate the prevalence of a crowned Virgin already at the time of Chartres. But they use a different crown and Mary is without the Child and they suggest strong Ottonian influence. Chartres, with its hieratic dignity and emphasis upon the Madonna, is original and important. It is even possible that the designs of the seals were a result of Chartres (Mâle dates the relief 1145, one year before the earliest seal), but that supposition seems very doubtful. Mâle⁹⁵ says the Chartres Virgin is the first to appear enthroned on the façade of a church; certainly it was copied on the St. Anne portals at Paris and Bourges, after which a whole series of similar monuments appears:⁹⁶ in Burgundy, at Notre-Dame-du-Pré, Donzy;⁹⁷ in Auvergne, on the south transept of Mozac;⁹⁸ in Provence, on the relief from Fontfroide (more naturalistic and with the Child at one side);⁹⁹ and at Toulouse, the La Daurade Virgin (an even further step in naturalism).¹⁰⁰ Thus we can trace it all the way to the fully developed Gothic.¹⁰¹

The Chartres type became prominent in Adorations of the Magi. Although, as Mâle points out, the Virgin in church sculpture first secured a place of honor in historical scenes and from thence became an object of veneration in herself, to be portrayed alone, the crown seems to have gone the other way. Shortly after Chartres, however, the crowned Madonna appears in the Epiphany on the lintel of La Charité-sur-Loire,¹⁰² on the smaller tympanum of Anzy-le-Duc,¹⁰³ at St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges,¹⁰⁴ at Minizan,¹⁰⁵ on capitals now in the Museum of Toulouse,¹⁰⁶ and on many capitals in Spain toward the end of the century: Tarragona cloister,¹⁰⁷ S. Miguel de Estella,¹⁰⁸ etc.

We find the use of the crowned Madonna continued in the other arts as well. On the seal of 1160 of Longpont Abbey,¹⁰⁹ in the Ile-de-France, she holds the Child at one side. A similar seal of the Chapter of Notre-Dame-de-Cambrai¹¹⁰ dates from 1169; another of the Chapter of Paris,¹¹¹ 1171; one of the Abbey of Breteuil,¹¹² 1183; one of the Abbey of Ste.-Marie-de-Ressons, in Rouen,¹¹³ 1187; and one of Farmoutier,¹¹⁴ 1197, etc.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁹⁶Professor A. K. Porter (*op. cit.*, pp. 267f.) states that the Chartres Madonna is probably derived from a similar Virgin on a stone altar in the Cathedral of Marseilles (pl. 1284), which is documented 1122, and he gives a reference in *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 15, VII, 1, 20, which states that "hanc arcam in anno MCXXII" Raymundus, bishop of Marseilles "fecit" and placed in it the bodies of St. Cannatus and St. Antoninus, etc. Further on, however, we find that he "donavit pro restauratione argenti de arca S. Cannati," and the text adds that "in supplicationibus solita circumferri," which prevents the application of the reference to the present large stone altar. The figure style, especially as concerns the draperies, also seems archaistic rather than archaic, enough alone to make one doubt its early date. The composition of the whole (See Ramé, *Les autels chrétiens* in *Annales archéologiques*, 1851, pl. 3), the beaded border, the floral decoration, the treatment of the four evangelistic beasts, all strongly suggest that the work is of the school of Provence of the latter part of the twelfth century.

⁹⁷Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 113.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, pl. 1223.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, pl. 1301.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 479.

¹⁰¹I have omitted two Spanish Madonnas which Professor Porter dates within my period, the Sahagun relief now in the Museo Arquelógico, Madrid (*ibid.*, pl.

770), and the Virgin in the cloister of Solsona Cathedral (pl. 552). The former he dates by the building of the church 1080-99 (Lamperez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, p. 692) and by comparison with the tympanum of Charlieu (pl. 4). The similarity in style does not seem, however, sufficient to warrant this argument, but, on the contrary, notable differences occur in the shape of the heads, position of the shoulders, and handling of the feet. In the Solsona Virgin I see little relationship with the work of Gilbert, since the style seems much more advanced in every way. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt the usual dating (Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, III (2), p. 889) or that the document of 1247 refers to it.

¹⁰²Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 118.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, pl. 95.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pl. 324.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 490.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, pl. 447.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, pls. 603, 606, 607.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pl. 781.

¹⁰⁹Fleury, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 118, and I, p. 348; Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰Demay, *Inventaire . . . Flandre*, no. 6028.

¹¹¹Demay, *Inventaire . . . Artois et Picardie*, no. 1156.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, no. 1311.

¹¹³Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, no. 8356.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, no. 8453.

A fresco at St.-Savin¹¹⁵ represents the Virgin and Child both frontal and with the Virgin's crown much like the example at Chartres. In the apse at Lavandieu (end of the century)¹¹⁶ she is sitting without the Child in the center of a row of saints, below a Christ enthroned with the four evangelistic beasts much as on the central tympanum of Chartres. In English manuscripts the frontal type appears, as in the British Museum Lands. 383,¹¹⁷ dating between 1160 and 1170. In stained glass¹¹⁸ we see her at Chartres¹¹⁹ and also in the Epiphany of the Suger window at St.-Denis.¹²⁰ I believe, however, in spite of the kneeling figure of Suger in the opposite medallion, that the stained glass was done some time after his death. The subject represented and the posture of the Wise Men suggest this; and Lasteyrie, while giving the facts of the dedication of the church in 1142 and Suger's death in 1151, refuses to assign the same early date to the glass.

The crowned Madonna had become so common by the end of the twelfth century that it is useless to continue our study beyond that date.

Conclusion

The crowned Madonna thus appears continuously from the sixth century on. While in Italy the type is, until the twelfth century at least, almost entirely confined to the strictly frontal "*sedes sapientiae*" and the orant poses, in the North we find a much freer use. Even there, however, until after Chartres, the Virgin is not crowned in the Epiphany. The standing Virgin, the seated Virgin with the Child held at one side, and the seated Virgin without the Child seem to develop side by side with the frontal type of the Bernward Gospel and Chartres. How much the Bernward type is indebted to Italian examples it is hard to say, but the modification of the crown is obvious. The throne also in the North is never of the elaborate Byzantine type, the Virgin's gown is always much simpler, and until the later seals she does not carry a scepter or anything resembling a *fleur-de-lis*.

With Chartres we complete the early evolution of the crowned Madonna. I have cited all the examples I could find prior to that date, and if other instances turn up, as they doubtless will, they probably will not fundamentally alter the course of development outlined.

In the later centuries the northern crown gains popularity even in Italy, and, while it becomes more elaborate, it remains the same in essentials. In short, we see the transformation of the Byzantine Empress into the Western Queen, and it is the latter type of Virgin that is used in innumerable churches in Europe to-day.

¹¹⁵Westlake, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123. The date of this has been much disputed. See R. B. O'Connor, *Mediaeval History of the Double Axe Motif*, in *A. J. A.*, 1920, p. 170, for a discussion of the date. Mr. O'Connor is convinced that the form of the pin-wheel motif used would indicate a date as late as the middle of the twelfth century and the appearance of our Madonna with the Chartres type of crown would certainly bear out this conclusion.

¹¹⁶Giron, *Les peintures murales du dép. de la Haute-Loire du XI-XVIII siècle*, pls. 2 and 3.

¹¹⁷British Museum: *Schools of Illumination*, I,

pl. 13.

¹¹⁸There is, of course, the crowned Madonna in the fragment of the Ascension at Le Mans (Arnold, *Stained Glass*, frontispiece; Lasteyrie, *Histoire de la peinture sur verre*, pl. B). The eleventh-century date given by Arnold is, as far as I can discover, entirely unsupported, and Lasteyrie gives a date after the Poitiers Crucifixion, itself in the end of the twelfth century.

¹¹⁹Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 119.

¹²⁰Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF SCULPTURE. BY GEORGE HENRY CHASE AND CHANDLER RATHFON POST. 8vo; 528 pp.; 306 figs. NEW YORK, HARPER, 1924.

This is a companion volume to Kimball and Edgell's *History of Architecture*, already published, while a forthcoming *History of Painting* by Professor Pope will complete the series. It is a difficult task to cover the whole history of sculpture from the earliest times to the present day, but the authors have produced a very useful commercial text for classroom purposes as well as for the general reader.

The first chapter was written in collaboration and discusses the palaeolithic and neolithic periods, materials, tools, the modern process of making a marble statue or relief, processes in earlier periods, polychromy, ancient methods for bronze, the *cire perdue* process, modern methods for bronze, with a bibliography at the end, where a later edition of Reinach's *Apollo* than 1907 should be cited. Chapters II to VIII are by Professor Chase and are an expansion of his Lowell Lectures published as *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, a good book with a wrong title, as it deals largely with sculpture in Europe and omits many important pieces of sculpture in American collections outside of Boston and New York. Chapters IX to XV (pp. 169-547) are by Professor Post and constitute the greater part of the book. They are, on the other hand, an abridgment, with additions and alterations, of *History of European and American Sculpture*. The chapter on Egyptian sculpture seems hardly up to date. Since Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* much of importance has been written on Egyptian art. In any case, the bibliography should list Capart's English edition, called *Egyptian Art*, translated by Warren R. Dawson. The same might be said of the chapter on Mesopotamian sculpture, where there is no reference to Professor Clay's important books and articles (cf. especially *Art and Archaeology*, V, 1917, pp. 69 ff.) or to A. T. Olmstead's excellent *History of Assyria*.

The account of Greek and Roman sculpture is brief but sane, and we need sane books when such books, however suggestive and inspiring, as Faure's *History of Art*, Schrader's *Phidias*, and Elderkin's *Kantharos* are being published. Professor Chase gives the essential points, though little original or new material (five illustrations only from America) is added to what can be found in Gardner or Fowler or other handbooks, and though many masterpieces of classical sculpture are omitted.

The lionesses of the gate at Mycenae are called lions (p. 53), and in addition to the reliefs from Mycenae we have some fragments of sculpture in the round from the prehistoric age of Greece (cf. for example Karo, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 256).

The illustrations leave much to be desired and are not good enough for study of style. It would be well to show a restoration of the Victory of Delos, or at least the base which is supposed to go with the statue, the whole of the base of the calfbearer, or at least the part with the inscription, the base of the Antenor statue, and more than one poor illustration of the important early poros sculptures of the Athenian acropolis, which portray so well the development of early pedimental sculptures. Even the early Corfu

pediment might have been included and an elementary account given of early pediments.

I cannot bring myself to feel that it has been proved (p. 72) that the temple on Aegina was that of Aphaia. The inscription on which this name rests dates long before the temple and its sculptures. On p. 73 in this connection a bad misprint occurs in Furtwängler for Furtwängler, and Mackenzie's restoration of the east pediment might have been used. In the bibliographical note (p. 79) no later edition of Gardner's *Handbook* than 1915 is cited. Heberdey's *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Casson's *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, and Picard's *La sculpture antique des origines à Phidias* at least should be added for archaic Greek art even in an elementary book, and for the other period the bibliography is rather meager.

In the chapter on the fifth century (p. 85) the Harmodius and Aristogiton group is still given with a fourth-century head on Aristogiton instead of the restoration with the true bearded head which has been identified in several copies. The false restoration also of the Laocoön group is given on p. 143 and in speaking of its excellent preservation nothing is said of Laocoön's modern right arm or of the correctly placed right arm which has been found in Rome. Elementary students are often misled by false restorations. On p. 105 the peplos is said not to be represented at all on the Parthenon frieze, a statement with which Murray and many an archaeologist would disagree. On p. 131 it should be stated that the right arm and hand and the wheat of the Tyche of Antioch (Fig. 69) are restored.

I fear I may have been a little captious but "Think naught a trifle, though it small appear." "Life's but a series of trifles at best." They "make the sum of human things." Let me close by repeating that the book is a good one. The chapter on Roman sculpture is the best elementary account in less than twenty pages of which I know.

David M. Robinson

CATALOGUE OF GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE: MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. BY L. D. CASKEY. 4TO; ix, 233 pp.; 222 FIGS. CAMBRIDGE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1925. \$7.75.

The Boston Museum during the last thirty years has built up, especially through the efforts of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Warren, a unique choice collection of original Greek sculptures (nos. 1-59) as well as of works assigned to copyists of the Graeco-Roman period (nos. 60-107), and of Roman Portraits (nos. 108-134). Previous to 1894 there were only twelve pieces, but from 1895 to 1904 ninety-six pieces were acquired. Since 1904 twenty-five marbles have been added, eleven of these obtained with the coöperation of Mr. Warren, including the companion piece to the "Ludovisi Throne," and the beautiful head of a goddess from Chios, given in 1910 by Mr. Thayer. The collection is small, numbering only 134 items but nearly three score are original Greek works, two or three already world-famous. The arrangement of the catalogue is chronological, with the Roman copies also placed in the chronological order of their models. The text with regard to each sculpture gives first in small type the material, measurements, state of preservation, provenance, the fund from which purchased, the inventory number, and the bibliography of previous publications. The main text, in large clear type, describes the particular piece of sculpture and discusses briefly the date, subject, purpose, and artist, with parallels from similar sculptures. Unfortunately, America outside of Boston and New York is sadly neglected. For example, there is a better Menander head in Toronto and a better Augustus head in

Detroit. A valuable feature, which other catalogues, except that of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen, rarely have, is that each sculpture is illustrated, some with more than one view, so that for 134 numbers there are 222 illustrations.

Most of the sculptures have been published before but it is convenient to have them presented thus in one volume. The comment is brief, free from foolish theories, interesting, sound minded, and scholarly, as is to be expected from Dr. Caskey. The best of what has been said by others is given but many an original statement added. Only in one case does there seem to be a lack of proportion of text, where nearly eighteen pages are devoted to the famous counterpart of the "Ludovisi Throne;" but here we are glad to have the detailed discussion of the purpose and style of this most important gem of transitional Greek art. In fact, we wish that an illustration of Dr. Caskey's reconstruction had been given among the twelve pictures of the monument.

The book is beautifully printed and in excellent taste. The proof reading has been well done, though Paully (pp. 109, 202) should be Pauly. It is in every respect an ideal catalogue, and so many different periods are represented that for the general reader it constitutes a history of Greek and Roman sculpture. At Boston one can now get a very good conception of original Greek sculpture.

David M. Robinson

